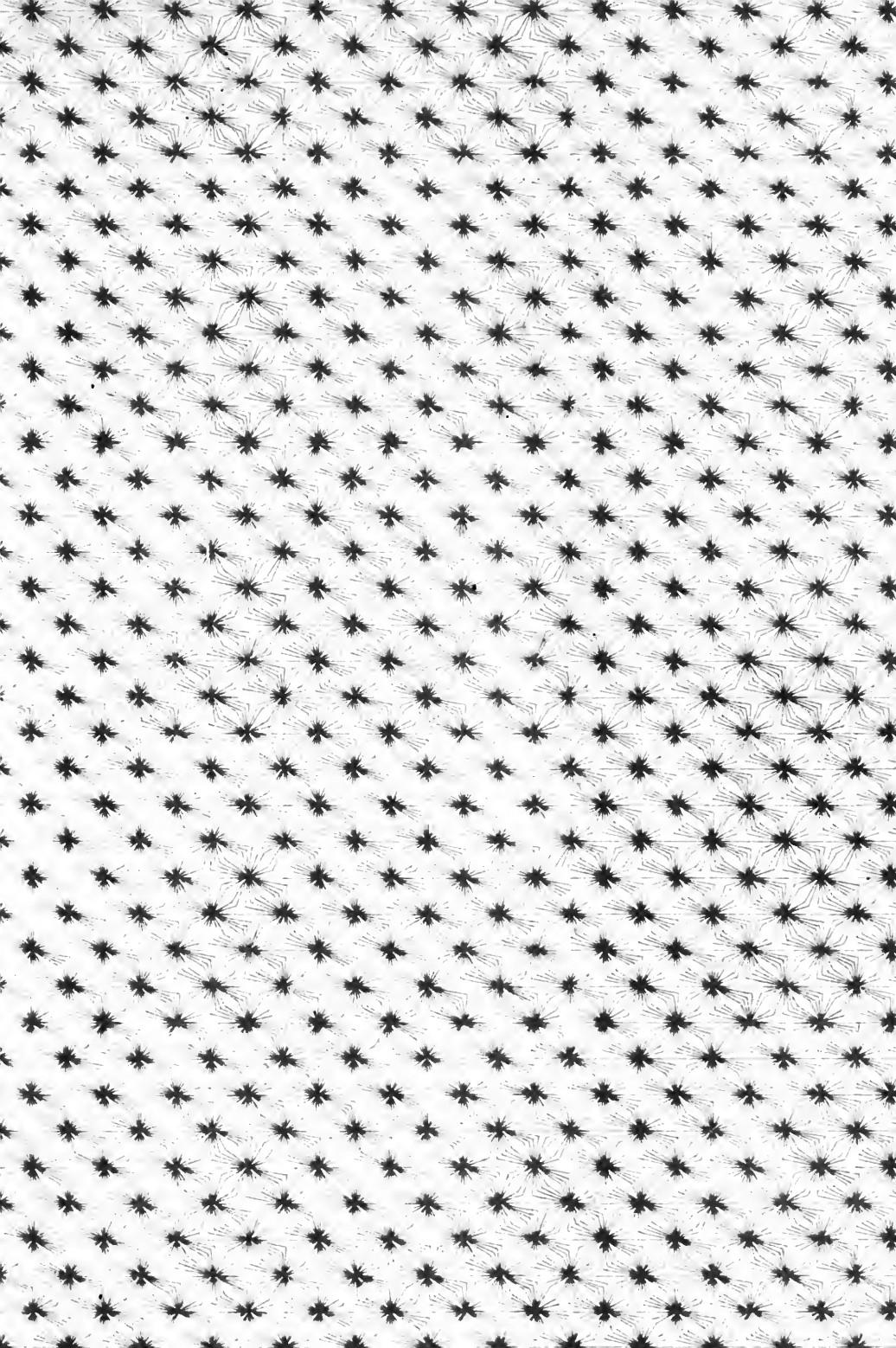




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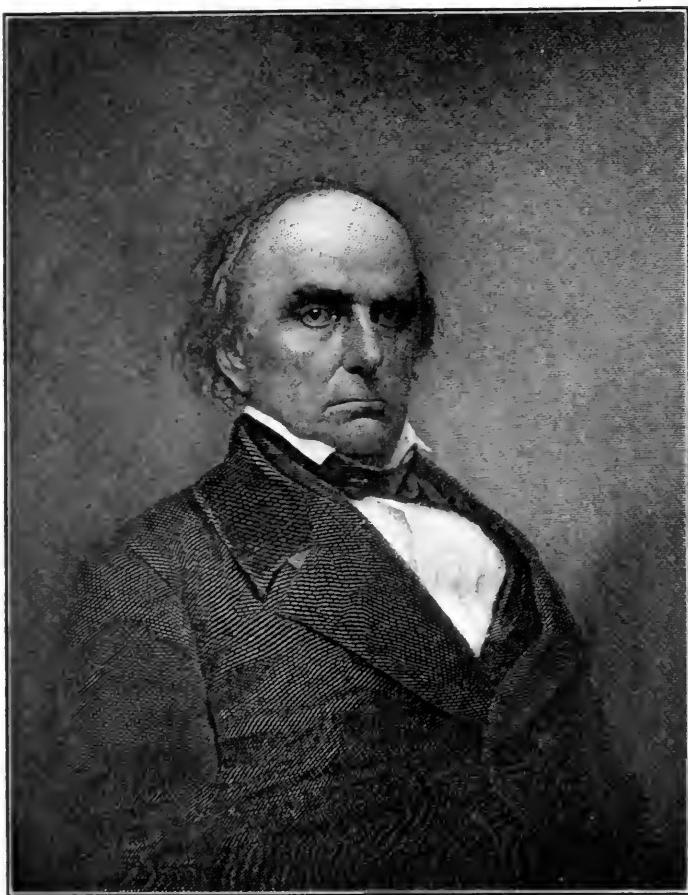


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Daniel Webster

HISTORY
OF
NEW HAMPSHIRE

BY

EVERETT S. STACKPOLE

Author of "Old Kittery and Her Families,"
"History of Durham, N. H., etc.



VOLUME III

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
NEW YORK

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. Political Status at the Opening of the Nineteenth Century.....	3
II. The War of 1812	21
III. The Dartmouth College Case.....	41
IV. Daniel Webster	53
V. Death of the Federalist Party	65
VI. Reconstruction of Political Parties	85
VII. A Miniature Republic	103
VIII. State Politics and the Mexican War.....	113
IX. The Abolitionists	129
X. Period of Discord	147
XI. Railroads	165
XII. Manufactures	181
XIII. Native Sons as Manufacturers and Inventors Abroad.....	197
XIV. Public School System and Institutions of Higher Education..	209
XV. Honored Sons as Educators Abroad.....	239
XVI. Franklin Pierce—President	253
XVII. Sons of New Hampshire in the United States Senate.....	289
XVIII. New Hampshire in the United States House of Representatives	311
XIX. Organization of Cities	338
Appendix—Constitution of 1784	355
Index of Subjects and Places	373
Index of Names	375

Chapter I

POLITICAL STATUS AT THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Chapter I

POLITICAL STATUS AT THE OPENING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Population—The Country Boys—Industries—Political Rivalry—Vilifying of Candidates—Mr. Plumer's First Political Machine—Triumph of Organized Effort—Property and Education Rule—The Republicans Come to Power—Their First Legislative Acts—Senator Nahum Parker—Concord the State Capital—Decline of Business Affects Politics—The Embargo of 1807-9—The Federalists again in Office—Hon. Jeremiah Smith—Opposition to President Jefferson—Election of Gov. William Plumer—His Inaugural Address—Sound Advice about Corporations—Accusations against Great Britain—State Prison Built in 1812—Change in Courts—Sketch of Hon. Jeremiah Mason—The New Hampshire Patriot and Isaac Hill.

THE opening of the nineteenth century found New Hampshire with a population of 183,868, about enough for a respectable city of the present time. These were scattered all over the State, wherever there was arable land, and many rocky slopes of its hills and mountains yielded scant returns to hard labor. But wants were few then, and farmers' boys were many; therefore the thrifty farmers, with economy and with scorn of privations, accumulated money enough to send their sons to college, the latter aiding by teaching school and doing farm work during vacations. Colleges for girls were then unknown, and so they took the earliest promising opportunity to get married, not often to the college boys, who went into the cities, but to some neighboring farmer or mechanic. The rural districts from that time to this have been raising live stock and boys. The latter have become the leaders of this and other States. Somehow the boys reared in the cities have not done their proportionate part in professional and political careers.

The age of mechanical industries had not yet come. At Portsmouth there had been from the first settlement considerable shipbuilding, and also in the towns of Exeter, Durham, Dover and wherever tide water reached. Next to agriculture lumbering and shipbuilding were the principal industries. The

small water powers were utilized for saw-mills and grist-mills, but there was no demand for the great water powers of the State. These awaited capital, machinery and better means of transportation. The first cotton factory was built at New Ipswich in 1803, followed in a few years by similar manufactures at Peterborough, Pembroke, Hillsborough and Jaffrey, but these were not attended with great success. They were but the beginning of a great movement, accelerated by the introduction of railways.

It was during the first decade of the nineteenth century that the oppositions of political parties became more pronounced. The common good of all the people has often been lost out of sight in the desire to secure the victory of a party. Then began the practice of vilifying both presidential candidates, Adams and Jefferson, and to blacken the private character of a political adversary has been a favorite policy of party leaders ever since. If accusations of immorality, infidelity, cowardice, such as were hurled against President Jefferson, have no foundation in fact, then suspicions and inventions have been thought expedient and necessary in order to win an election, or defeat a rival. The tactics of war, which seem in the minds of many to justify abrogation of all moral law and decency, have been used too often in time of peace. Thus political parties became arrayed against each other as though they were foes, while both parties and all parties ought to have been planning and striving for the common good. Political oppositions were increased by the spoils system, which began with President Jefferson and culminated in President Jackson's time,—that the victorious party should divide among its leaders and bosses the fat offices, sometimes regardless of personal qualifications and fitness. Governmental offices with enticing salaries have been considered in all times the perquisites of the wealthy and professional classes, and when this has become sufficiently apparent to the common people and the toilers, there has been a revolution by means of arms or ballots. In our country ballots have determined the political changes.

The Federalists were the party of the aristocracy, as it was thought and at length systematically taught. William Plumer was the first to set up widely organized party machinery to

sustain the Federalists. John Taylor Gilman had been governor of the State from 1794 to 1804. In the latter year both houses were Republican. Mr. Plumer formed a self-elected State Committee, associating with himself five others, one from each county. The State Committee organized county committees, and these in turn selected committees in towns and school districts, the end in view being to bring out every Federal voter on election day and to turn every wavering and doubtful voter in favor of that party. This is believed to have been the first systematic attempt to thoroughly organize a body of voters so as to control an election in New Hampshire, and it worked so successfully that all parties ever since have tried to establish and perfect such a machine. It has been found that, no matter what a party may represent, it can not win at the polls without organized effort. Education by means of newspapers, pamphlets and stump speeches is not enough. Voters must be pledged definitely in advance, and it is generally known before election about what the majority will be in ordinary times. Whatever evils there may be in this system, it is difficult to see how the general plan can be avoided in a democracy. There must be at least two political parties, chosen nominees and concentration of votes to effect a purpose, and a central committee must direct the political campaign. Otherwise the efforts even of reformers are scattered and mutually opposed. Much has been said against the party machine. Let William Plumer be blamed for it in New Hampshire, if blame it must have, but let somebody inaugurate a better method, if possible. Plumer's committee circulated newspapers gratuitously and post-riders distributed them throughout the State. Six thousand copies of an address by Mr. Plumer were carried into all the towns. Thus the Federalists elected their representatives to congress by a majority of nearly eight hundred votes. Who furnished the money? History does not name them, but it is reasonable to think that the money needed came from those who hoped to get the offices for themselves or for their friends. Politicians usually put out money as a means of making more money. It has become a business enterprise. The election of an admired man to office is a sufficient inducement to open the pocket-books of some. Before William Plumer's time it did not cost much to

carry an election; the expense has been steadily increasing ever since.

At the presidential election, however, the Republican majority was five hundred over the Federalists, and the next year, 1805, John Langdon was elected governor by a majority of nearly four thousand. William Plumer had changed his politics and perhaps his guiding mind may be seen in the changed majorities. The successful reformer must be an organizer or get somebody to do the practical work for him. Plumer in 1805 wrote thus:

"Democracy has obtained its long-expected triumph in New Hampshire. John Langdon is governor-elect. His success is not owing to snow, rain, hail, or bad roads, but to the incontrovertible fact that the Federalists of this State do not compose the majority. Many good men have grown weary of constant exertions to support a system whose labors bear a close affinity to those of Sisyphus."

Any political organization that champions the cause of the common people, of the laboring masses, is sure to win at last. All political reforms have their welfare in view. The struggle between capital and labor, between privilege and want, has been going on a long time. If the masses come into power for a short time, capital and brains reassemble and deploy their forces; in a little while they again have the reins of authority and manage things generally to suit themselves. Give the people their rights and they soon lose them. Give millions of freedmen the ballot, and it is soon taken away. Property and education have always ruled this world; the masses must get both in order to get and hold political rights. It is true, as Lincoln said, that all of the people can not be fooled all of the time, but the masses have been fooled and oppressed most of the time in the history of all governments,—and still we hope for something better. The politicians will please pardon these reflections suggested by the first political machine of New Hampshire.

The Republicans came into full possession of power in the State in 1805. For the first time a Republican representative was sent to congress, in the person of Nicholas Gilman of Exeter. Every branch of the State government was in the

hands of the Republicans, the party of Thomas Jefferson, later called Democrats. Levi Bartlett, Joseph Badger and Benjamin Pierce were in the council. Clement Storer presided over the senate, and Samuel Bell was speaker of the house. Dr. Philip Carrigain of Concord became Secretary of State, in the place of Joseph Pearson, who had filled that office for nineteen years in succession. In fact there was a political landslide in favor of the Republicans, and the leaders were not slow to seize the offices. The administration of Jefferson was endorsed by the legislature and "that spirit of malignant abuse," with which he had been assailed, was condemned.

The new party legislature sought to distinguish itself by reforms. It prohibited the issue of private notes as currency. It limited all action for the recovery of real estate to twenty years. A betterment law enabled the *bona fide* purchaser to collect the value of improvements after occupation of lands for six years. Another law of 1805 secured the division of towns into school districts. Imprisonment for debt still remained law, and Hon. Russell Freeman, once speaker of the house, was cast into jail with one Josiah Burnham and another companion. All were suffering for the same cause. Burnham became angered by the complaints of his fellow sufferers of his abusive manners, and he murdered them both in prison. For this foul act he was executed by hanging, at Haverhill, the following year. Yet for a long time thereafter men were imprisoned for debts which they could not, or would not, pay.

In the election of 1806 Governor Langdon was reelected by a strong majority and five Republican representatives were sent to congress. The vacant seat in the United States Senate was filled by choice of Hon. Nahum Parker of Fitzwilliam. He was born in Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, March 4, 1760, and removed to Fitzwilliam in 1786. At the age of fifteen he took part in the battle of Saratoga, which led to the surrender of Burgoyne. He served in the State legislature from 1794 to 1804, and was judge of the court of common pleas in Cheshire county for many years. Preferring the latter office he resigned his seat in the senate after three years. Afterwards he returned to the State legislature and was President of its Senate in 1828. His career in his town and State was an honorable and useful one. He died November 12, 1839, aged eighty years.

The year 1807 marks the beginning of continuous sessions of the legislature at Concord, although no law ever fixed upon that place as the seat of government. The June sessions of 1806 and 1807 had been held at Hopkinton, and that then thriving town aspired to be the capitol of the State. One session each had been held in Amherst, Charlestown, and Hanover, but most of the sessions had been in Portsmouth, Exeter, or Concord. Concord was found to be easier of access, and there were enterprising citizens here, that offered inducements. The sessions at Concord were held for several years in the Town Hall, built partly for that purpose, where the County Court House now stands. In 1816 began the erection of a State House, and there was great agitation in Concord, whether it should be at the "North End," or "South End" of the town. The spot selected was called a frog pond. The building was completed in 1819, and it has been altered and enlarged more than once. The legislature required by enactment that the people of Concord should furnish gratuitously all the stone needed and haul the same to the spot selected, as well as present to the State the building site. It was a good bargain for Concord and also for the State.

Events which greatly affected American commerce determined political campaigns. Nothing affects party politics so much as commercial prosperity or the reverse. A decrease in revenues, or a financial panic, is laid at once to the charge of the dominant party. Hard times demand a change in rulers; it is hoped that any change will be for the better. About the year 1807 the encroachments of both French and English upon American commerce had become so unendurable, that congress enacted an embargo law. This prohibited the sailing of vessels from our ports and stopped immediately all exportation as well as importation of goods. England was at war with France, and the case was similar to that which now exists between England and Germany. Both nations sought to ruin the commerce of the enemy and neutrals had to suffer from both fires. Such a result is in some degree inevitable, whenever two powerful commercial nations are at war; the neutrals have to suffer with the combatants, just as civilians often have worse trials and mishaps than the soldiers. War can not be kept within the rules of peace.

Portsmouth had been the one commercial town of New Hampshire up to the time of the American Revolution. During that war its commerce was practically destroyed. Then followed a period of gradual and rapid growth, till in 1807 it reached the amount of \$680,000 in exports and \$800,000 in imports. Its tonnage amounted to 22,798 tons, and one hundred and three vessels cleared from its harbor for the West Indies alone. The embargo, which was in force from 1807 to 1809, put an immediate stop to all this apparent prosperity. The ships of trade rotted at the wharfs. Many persons were thrown out of employment. Fortunes were swept away and ruin stared many in the face. Jefferson and the Republican party were called to an account. Some persons in the North began to threaten secession, and the Massachusetts legislature, in 1809, declared the embargo "unjust, oppressive, and unconstitutional, and not legally binding on the citizens of the State." It is a relief to declare anything unconstitutional that pinches the pocketbook and there are easy ways of proving it to the satisfaction of the pinched.

Depression in trade and hard times brought restoration to power for a short time to the Federal party in New Hampshire. The national election of 1808 yielded five members of congress to the Federal party, and also the presidential electors. The following year John Langdon was defeated in the contest for the governorship by Judge Jeremiah Smith, one of the ablest lawyers of his time.

Jeremiah Smith was born in Peterborough, November 29, 1759, son of William and Elizabeth (Morrison) Smith. Both parents were of Scotch descent. At the age of seventeen he was wounded at the battle of Bennington. He studied two years at Harvard College, but graduated at Queen's College, now Rutgers, in 1780. After studying law he opened an office in his father's farm-house in Peterborough and soon began to serve as a member of the legislature. Previously he had been instructor one year at Phillips Academy, Andover, and had taught at Salem, Massachusetts. He read everything within his reach, and his memory was stored with literary, historical and legal lore. At Peterborough he was one of the selectmen and an aider of public schools. As a member of Governor Bartlett's

staff he attained the rank of colonel. The constitutional convention of 1791 numbered him among its most useful members and he was chairman of the committee that prepared the draft of the revised statutes in the same year. He was elected to the second, third, fourth and fifth congresses of the United States, where he was a supporter of Washington and of the Federalist party. In 1797 he resigned his seat in congress to become United States district attorney for New Hampshire and removed to Exeter, which became his home for many years. In 1800 he was made judge of probate for Rockingham county and composed soon after a treatise on probate law, which was never put into print. He was judge of the United States circuit court in 1801 and chief justice of the superior court of New Hampshire from 1802 to the time of his election as governor, during which period he traveled in the discharge of his duties through the State twice each year. As governor he could accomplish but little because of the oppositions of the legislative body and he failed of a reelection in 1810, John Langdon and the Republicans being then restored to power. From 1813 to 1816 he was chief justice of the supreme court of New Hampshire. That court was abolished in 1816 and Mr. Smith confined himself to the practice of law, serving as counselor and advocate in many important cases, none more so than that of the Dartmouth College controversy, where he furnished with Mason the legal arguments for Webster. In 1820 he retired from business and spent his leisure in literary studies, serving as president of a bank and as president of the board of trustees of Phillips Exeter Academy. In 1842 he removed to Dover, where he died September 21, 1843.

All biographical accounts of him credit him with doing more than any other for reducing the administration of law to a system and of bringing order out of chaos. Daniel Webster said of him, "He knows everything about New England, having studied much of its history and its institutions; and as to law, he knows so much more of it than I do, or ever shall, that I forbear to speak on that point." A volume selected from his manuscript decisions, while he was judge, was published in 1879, known as Smith's New Hampshire Reports. For general character, legal abilities, able administration, fulness of knowl-



WILLIAM PLUMER

edge and conversational powers Judge Smith ranked among the very foremost of New Hampshire's prominent men.

In 1810 John Langdon, as the Republican candidate, was again elected governor, and the following year he offered \$2000 as a campaign fund to be released from being a candidate for reelection, yet it was thought that no other candidate could poll as many votes as he, and so he was elected for the last time. Charles Cutts of Portsmouth, descendant of the President Cutt of colonial times, was chosen United States senator, to fill out the unexpired term of Nahum Parker. The two political parties were pretty equally divided, most of the wealth, education and social standing being with the Federalists. Nearly all the clergymen of New England were Federalists and cordially disliked President Jefferson for what was called his "infidelity," notwithstanding his religious opinions were more in accordance with modern thought than were the doctrines of his critics. Orthodoxy has ceased to be a required presidential qualification. The unstable equilibrium of parties stirred up public interest in the elections, led to much reading and discussion, and thus educated the voters to independent opinions. At least those who read the political journals thought they were thinking for themselves.

In 1812 William Plumer, who has been often mentioned as a political leader, was the victorious candidate of the Republican party for the governorship. There was no election by the people, but in the convention of both houses he was chosen by one hundred and four votes against eighty-two for John Taylor Gilman. The Federalists, however, chose their presidential electors and members of congress, among whom was Daniel Webster, whose career must be noted more at length in a subsequent chapter. Governor Plumer suffered the usual amount of personal abuse in the political campaign, but his conduct as governor won approval by its dignified and impartial character. In his inaugural message he summed up the national situation. It is interesting when we compare it with similar accusations made against Germany at this time.

Both from France and England we have long suffered, and still continue to suffer great injustice. They have unjustly captured and condemned our commerce, imprisoned and held in servitude our seamen, and grossly violated

our national rights; whilst towards both those nations the government of the United States has steadily and uniformly pursued a course of conduct founded in the strictest justice, and marked with the most impartial neutrality. . . . The conduct of Great Britain towards the United States still manifests a spirit of obstinate perseverance in measures hostile to our dearest interests and most essential rights. She has impressed thousands of our seamen, forced them to serve on board her public ships, and, in the event of war, will no doubt compel them to shed the blood of their innocent brethren and unoffending countrymen. She has unjustly captured and condemned our vessels and cargoes; permitted her subjects publicly to forge and counterfeit our ship papers, and assume the American flag, thereby exciting suspicion against our mercantile character, and subjecting our lawful commerce to capture by other belligerent powers. And, as if these flagrant acts of injustice did not afford sufficient evidence of her deadly hostility, she has sent spies into our country, to alienate the affections of our citizens from their own government, and effect a dismemberment of the Union. Against these outrages and aggressions the government of the United States, preferring negotiation to war, has long and patiently sought redress—and even supplicated for justice, till it has approached a state of humiliation incompatible with national dignity. . . . In this state of affairs but one alternative remained, either tamely to surrender our rights, or manfully to prepare for their defense. A nation of freemen could not long hesitate between submission and war. . . . Though war is a great calamity, the sacrifice of our essential rights is greater. It is with a nation as with an individual; there is a point of suffering beyond which forbearance, instead of repelling, invites aggression. If we cherish a spirit of submission to a foreign power, and tamely acquiesce in the loss of one right after another, we shall thereby prepare the public mind for a state of degradation and servitude, more dreadful in its consequence than that of war; for a nation cannot long survive the loss of its spirit.

The Federalists were excusing the conduct of England; they were hyphenated, or English-Americans. They wanted peace at any price. They could not forget the land of their origin; they were just like some German-Americans at the present time. Their sympathies were with the mother country in her fight with France. History repeats itself, since human nature always remains the same. The message of William Plumer might be a good campaign document for the present belligerent party; if unsigned, it might be thought to have flowed from the pen of Theodore Roosevelt. The soundness of its principles can not be questioned, yet a little more patience and forbearance would have prevented a war with England then. Something must be pardoned in the acts of a nation, when it is in mortal struggle with another. The rights of on-

lookers can not always be considered; they perhaps should keep out of the way as much as possible and let their grievances be arbitrated when blood has cooled.

Mr. Plumer, in his message, pleads for an indissoluble Union of the States and that "the people of the United States are the source of sovereignty." He urges a well armed and trained militia and calls attention to the importance of encouraging agriculture and manufactures, to take the place of departing commerce. The following clause is important now and shows the rightful limitation of the powers of corporations. The greater the corporations, the more needful is the caution. The following is wholesome reading for our times:

Acts of incorporation of various kinds have within a few years increased in this State; and many of them, being in the nature of grants, cannot with propriety be revoked without the previous consent of the grantees. Such laws ought therefore to be passed with great caution; many of them should be limited to a certain period and contain a reservation authorizing the legislature to repeal them, whenever they cease to answer the end for which they were made, or prove injurious to the public interest.

The second gubernatorial message of William Plumer, November 1812, after war with Great Britain had been declared, breathes the same spirit as the message above quoted. It is specially hard on the national history of our mother country:

Britain, whose history for centuries has been characterized by *war and devastation*, has become so inured to blood and slaughter, that her government has acquired the habit of committing wrongs and inflicting insults upon the nations of the earth. . . . Her spies are endeavoring to alienate our citizens, subvert our government, and dismember the union of the States. And to add to this catalogue of atrocious crimes—crimes tinged with the deepest dye—have we not sufficient reason to believe, that she has excited the numerous tribes of *Savages*, with whom her subjects have long been connected in trade, to wage war against us, a war whose characteristic is indiscriminate cruelty, and whose object is extermination. Where is the nation, ancient or modern, that has borne such treatment without resentment or resistance? Where is the nation that is passive under such humiliating degradation and disgrace? Surely wrongs like these imperiously demand redress.

Then he goes on to justify the war by appealing to the Sacred Scriptures, forgetting that he was no longer a Baptist minister, but a deistic free-thinker. The men of the tribe of Benjamin once refused to give up lewd and dastardly culprits

and for this offense the other tribes of Israel made war on the Benjamites and slew one hundred thousand of them. "And we have the *sure word of testimony*, that God approved of that war * * * Is not the agency of the ALMIGHTY, in the nature and fitness of things, employed in promoting the cause of truth and justice, and in supporting and vindicating the *equal rights* HE has himself established? Our cause is just." Thus all partisans and rulers like to array God on their side. It is the old argument of Abraham, when he pled with God to spare Lot's family, "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do *right?*" Therefore,—we and God must win the fight. Mr. Plumer only reechoed the pleas and arguments of people in all times who feel themselves unjustly treated. The Republican newspapers of 1812 were full of such appeals to patriotism and the sense of justice. Nevertheless, in the following year the Federalists rallied their forces and elected for his last time John Taylor Gilman to the office of governor by a majority of only two hundred and fifty votes out of more than thirty-five thousand thrown. Governor Plumer returned to power in 1816 and held the office of governor, by reelection, till 1819.

In 1812 the State Prison was built at Concord, at an expense of thirty-seven thousand dollars. The criminal code of the State was revised. Whipping and the pillory ceased to be legal penalties. Capital punishment was abolished for all offenses save murder and treason.

It was during the administration of John Taylor Gilman, in 1813, that an act of the legislature abolished the superior and inferior courts, removing twenty-one judges from office in a manner that many thought to be unconstitutional. A supreme court and a circuit court of common pleas took the place of the former courts, and Jeremiah Smith was made chief justice, with Arthur Livermore and Caleb Ellis as associates, able men who greatly improved the courts. In some counties the old judges attempted to hold courts at the same time with the new, and some refractory sheriffs had to be removed.

At the June session of the legislature, in 1814, Jeremiah Mason was elected to the senate of the United States, a man whose honorable career and great abilities deserve more extended notice.



JEREMIAH MASON

Jeremiah Mason easily won the reputation of being among the foremost lawyers of New Hampshire. Few have equaled him in the entire history of the State. He was born in Lebanon, Connecticut, April 27, 1768, and was descended from Captain John Mason, who came from England in 1630 and settled at Dorchester, Massachusetts. He was graduated at Yale College in 1788. He began his legal career at Westmoreland in 1791 but removed to Walpole three years later, whence he went to Portsmouth in 1797. He soon gained an extensive practice and was made Attorney-General in 1802, which office he held three or four years. "As a prosecuting officer, he was courteous, inflexible, and just; careful that the guilty should not escape, and that the honest should be protected. He was impartial, almost judicial, in the administration of his great office. He had no morbid eagerness for conviction; and never permitted, as sometimes occurs, an unworthy wrangling between the official prosecuting and the zeal of the other party defending. His official course produced exactly the ends it was designed to do. The honest felt safe; but there was a trembling and fear in the evil disposed, that the transgressed law would be vindicated. Very much confined to his profession, he never sought office or political elevation. Yet he held decided opinions upon all political questions, and cultivated acquaintance with all the leading subjects of the day; and no man was more keenly alive than he to whatever transpired at home or abroad, involving the great interests of the civilized world. His political principles, opinions, judgments, were framed upon those of the men of the times of Washington. From these, to the last, he never swerved. The copy was well executed. His conversation on subjects of state were as instructive and interesting as upon professional topics. He had the same reach of thought, and exhibited the same comprehensive mind and sagacity quick and far-seeing, with regard to political things and men, as he did in professional affairs. His influence was, therefore, hardly the less from the fact, that he was not actively engaged in political life. There was an additional weight given to his judgment, arising from his being a disinterested beholder only. The looker-on upon a contest can sometimes form a more independent and impartial opinion of its course and its results, than those who are actually engaged in it."

In 1813 Mr. Mason was elected United States Senator and was in congress till he resigned his seat, in 1817. He was afterward a member of the New Hampshire legislature for several years and assisted in revising the code of the State. He was urged to become Chief Justice of the Superior Court of the State, but refused that honor. In 1824 he was again a candidate for United States Senator, elected in the House and defeated in the Senate. After a long residence in Portsmouth, where he was admired and respected for his great abilities and hospitable and friendly character, he removed, in 1832, to Boston. As president of the Branch Bank in Portsmouth he had some trials and made some persons unfriendly. His biographer says: "Mr. Mason was a great man in a small town. In intellectual force there was no one equal to him, and no one second to him. But some men bear with impatience the sway of an understanding superior to their own; and thus, while he had the respect of all, while he had many warm friends, there were some who feared him and some who envied him. He had not the character or the manners which make men popular. He never angled for the good opinion of others. Conscious of his strength, and careless of consequences, he never suppressed what he thought and never uttered what he did not think. He read men with a sharp and penetrating glance. No form of weakness could escape him; and for such weakness as took the form of vanity or pretension he had an intolerant contempt, which he took no pains to conceal. He always spoke his mind with great freedom. His powers of sarcasm were great; he said pointed and pregnant things which were forgotten by himself, but never by those against whom they were directed. Men who are universally popular, of whom everybody speaks well, usually have in their characters something of weakness, or something of insincerity; and the kind of unfriendliness which Mr. Mason called forth was really a tribute to his intellectual force and the manliness of his nature."

In Boston he took rank as a counselor with such men as Webster and Choate. His opinion was sought on difficult and intricate cases, involving commercial and constitutional law, as well as the construction of wills. He knew law and how to apply it. He had the reputation of being a very great lawyer and a very tall man, being six feet and seven inches in height.

Upon his death, in 1848, Daniel Webster made the principal address in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, in the course of which he said, "The characteristics of Mr. Mason's mind, as I think, were real greatness, strength and sagacity. He was great through strong sense and sound judgment, great by comprehensive view of things, great by high and elevated purposes. Perhaps sometimes he was too cautious and refined, and his distinctions became too minute; but his discrimination arose from a force of intellect and quick-seeing, far-reaching sagacity, everywhere discerning his object and pursuing it steadily. Whether it was popular or professional, he grasped a point and held it with a strong hand. He was sarcastic sometimes, but not frequently; not frothy or petulant, but cool and vitriolic. Unfortunate for him on whom his sarcasm fell. His conversation was as remarkable as his efforts at the bar. It was original, fresh and suggestive; never dull or indifferent. He never talked when he had nothing to say. He was particularly agreeable, edifying and instructive to all about him; and this was the charm of the social intercourse in which he was connected.

"As a professional man, Mr. Mason's great ability lay in the department of the Common Law. In this part of jurisprudence he was profoundly learned. He had drunk copiously from its deepest springs; and he had studied, with diligence and success, the departures from the English Common Law, which had taken place in this country, either necessarily, from difference of condition, or positively, by force of our own Statutes. In his addresses, both to courts and juries, he affected to despise all eloquence, and certainly disdained all ornament; but his efforts, whether addressed to one tribunal or the other, were marked by a degree of clearness, directness and force, not easy to be equaled. There were no Courts of Equity, as a separate and distinct jurisdiction, in the State of New Hampshire during his residence in that State. Yet the Equity Treatises and Equity Reports were all in his library, not 'wisely ranged for show,' but for constant and daily consultation; because he saw that the Common Law itself was growing every day more and more liberal; that Equity principles were constantly forcing themselves into its administration, and within its rules; that the subjects of litigation in the Courts were constantly becoming,

more and more, such as escaped from the technicalities and the trammels of the Common Law, and offered themselves for discussion and decision on the broader principles of general jurisprudence."

Mr. Mason was always a man of decided religious convictions, and after his removal to Boston united with the Episcopal church, his interest in spiritual things growing with advancing years. His whole life was an honor to his profession and to the States in which he lived.¹

During these years of political struggle between the Federalists and Republicans a prominent agent of the latter party was the *New Hampshire Patriot*, a newspaper that was launched in Concord in 1808 by Isaac Hill, afterwards governor of the State. Mr. Hill had served his apprenticeship with the proprietor and publisher of the *Amherst Cabinet*. He speedily acquired a reputation throughout the State and beyond as a political writer and journalist. He took charge of the *American Patriot* after it had been published but six months as an uncertain venture, changed its name slightly, with less ambitious title, and made it a guide and moulder of public opinion. It became the most widely read newspaper of the State, made so by the intense convictions, literary style and political soundness of Mr. Hill. He was equally opposed to British and French aggressions upon American commerce. There were but two Republican newspapers in the State, while there were ten managed by the Federalists, but the *New Hampshire Patriot* was a match for them all. Even under the editorship of William Hoit the *American Patriot* had been outspoken in its criticisms of the conduct of England. She was accused of atrocities, treacheries and injustices with all the forcible words at command. Mr. Hill fought fiercely and boldly for American rights. In his first editorial he speaks of the "evil spirit of Federalism stalking up and down our land seeking whom it may devour." He spares not his scorn and sarcasm for those who would excuse French injustice and British perfidy. The sins of a few are laid at the door of an entire nation, when the spirit of war has made enemies of friends. Those who stay at home and write and talk show more hatred than those who fight the battles.

¹ The material for this sketch has been drawn from his Memoir, written by George S. Hillard.

Chapter II

THE WAR OF 1812

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Causes of the War—England's Reason for the Impressment of Seamen—A War of Passion—Inequality of the Contestants—The State Militias—New Hampshire Troops in the War—Portsmouth Guarded—Example of Daniel Webster—Success of American Privateers—Failure of the Land Forces—General Henry Dearborn—Colonel James Miller—Surrender of Detroit by General Hull—Difference between American and English Accounts of a Battle—"I'll Try"—General Ripley—General John McNeill—General Timothy Upham—Captain John W. Weeks—Message of Governor John Taylor Gilman—Reply of the Senate—Federalists Opposed to the War—The Hartford Convention—Benjamin West and Mills Olcott—Cost of the War and Little Gained.

THE causes of the War of 1812 have already been briefly mentioned and are well known. They were the destruction of American commerce and the impressment of American seaman by the British. Hence it has been called the War for Sailors' Rights. In the capture of American neutral vessels France was as much at fault as was England. Both of those powers, long at war, had declared a blockade of the enemy's entire coast, and they swept in every vessel they could find. The United States had no navy of any consequence with which to defend her shipping. The policy of Jefferson had been to reduce both army and navy, and thus to decrease taxation and at the same time pay off the national debt. He paid off forty millions, but in the end the policy was that of the penny wise and pound foolish. Prior to July 1812 the British had captured eight hundred and seventeen American vessels; the French had made five hundred and fifty-eight captures; and the Neapolitans, forty-seven. These figures are taken from the President's message of that year, with an accompanying detailed report. The treachery of Napoleon the First was shown in that, notwithstanding the pretended revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees, he ordered, in 1810, the capture of all American vessels in French ports. This led to the confiscation of ten million

dollars' worth of property. The country was divided in its sentiments. Most of the northern States, New England in particular, sympathized more strongly with England. The vote for war was carried by States south of Pennsylvania. The advocates of peace argued that the country was unprepared for war, which proved to be lamentably true; that there was as much reason for making war on France as on England; that matters were no worse in 1812 than they were five years before. The advocates of war thought that with a volunteer militia we were going to overrun Canada quickly and annex it by conquest.

The reason for the impressment of American seamen by the British has not been sufficiently understood. The development of American commerce after the revolutionary war was rapid. We had the timber at hand for the construction of vessels. We could then build ships more cheaply than other nations could. This caused the enlistment of many English subjects in the service of American merchant vessels, and some of them sought naturalization to escape the liability of service in English vessels, for England had always claimed the right of impressing her sailors at need, wherever they might be found, and had exercised that right ever since the war of the American Revolution. The main inducement offered to English seamen to serve in American vessels was nearly thrice the amount of wages. This was due to the generally higher price of labor in the United States. To this day seamen in American vessels demand and receive higher wages than in the service of any other nation, and this is one reason for the destruction of our merchant marine. The English, too, held that a born Briton must be treated always as a Briton, and that he could not alienate his nationality; we, on the other hand, have claimed that America is the refuge for all nations. Perhaps the policy in both cases has been dictated by the fact that we needed immigrants to develop our broad territories, while England needed all her men for self-defense. There were many desertions among British seamen. Sometimes whole crews would go ashore in an American port and fail to return. At first effort was made to distinguish between English and American seamen, but this was not always easy, and often Americans were seized and kept in English service for years, because they could not prove, to the

satisfaction of English officials, that they were Americans. Thus between March 11, 1803 and August 31, 1804, an official report to congress showed that one thousand three hundred and thirty-eight American seamen had been pressed into service on English vessels. The number of complaints registered with the secretary of state before the war was six thousand two hundred and fifty-seven, and there must have been several thousands more who never registered complaint. It was admitted that sixteen hundred native-born Americans were serving on English vessels in 1811 by impressment, and nearly two thousand more claimed to be Americans. When the war began twenty-five hundred of these impressed Americans refused to fight against their country, and consequently they were sent to Dartmoor and other English prisons, where those who survived remained till the end of the war. New England suffered more than any other part of our country, both from capture of her vessels and impressment of her seamen, yet New England was more opposed to the declaration of war than any other section. Her leaders thought that war could be averted by diplomacy, and this proved to be true, for only five days after the declaration of war by the American congress the British government revoked the objectionable Orders in Council which had been objects of popular disfavor and diplomatic controversy. It has been stated that an Atlantic cable, if then in existence, would have prevented the War of 1812. Lord Liverpool said with some truth, in 1813, "that the war on the part of America had been a war of passion, of party spirit, and not a war of policy, of interest, or of necessity."

That it was a war of hasty passion is shown by the lack of preparation. Presidents Jefferson and Madison had imbued the people with the notion that freemen would spring to arms at a moment's notice to defend their rights; that untrained soldiers could fight as well as well-drilled and experienced troops; that the State militias were as good as a standing army. The people stopped not to consider that eight millions of people were declaring war upon twenty millions, who had the assistance of powerful colonies; that the annual revenue of the United States was about ten millions, while that of England was three hundred and fifty millions; that our national army consisted of only

sixty-seven hundred soldiers, while England had hundreds of thousands, trained in the Napoleonic wars; that the United States had a navy of sixteen sea-going vessels to oppose to England's fleet of eight hundred and thirty ships. Our fleet was manned by about five thousand seamen, and England's by one hundred and fifty thousand. It was thought that our land forces, led by superannuated left-overs from the revolutionary period, would sweep everything before them, while not much was expected from our little navy. The exact reverse proved true. Our seamen were unsurpassed in the management of vessels, and our naval commanders were brave and competent. The old officers in the army had to be set aside and troops had to be trained before we made any headway in Canada.

It is remarkable how the State militias of the North clung to the doctrine of State Rights. The States wanted to control their own militia and not suffer them to go outside of State limits. Governor Plumer, in his message, opposed this interpretation of the Constitution and argued that the President had a right to call upon the militia for aid whenever and wherever it was needed. New York once refused such aid, when it was implored under trying circumstances. New England feared invasion of her coasts and wanted to keep all her men at home. She had little interest in the campaign about Detroit. New Hampshire detached three thousand five hundred men from her militia and organized them for service at the call of the President. The militia of the State at that time consisted of thirty-seven regiments. There were three Major-Generals and six Brigadier-Generals, none of whom had a chance to become distinguished in the war.

On requisition by General Henry Dearborn of troops for the defense of Portsmouth two companies, commanded by Captain Robert Neal and Captain Samuel Shackford, were detached from General Clement Storer's brigade and stationed in that place in June 1812. New Hampshire men helped to garrison Fort McClary, but such troops saw no opportunity for active service. British cruisers were seen off the coast and an attack was so much feared that some women and children, with household valuables, were removed into the interior. Lieutenant-Colonel Moody opened a recruiting office in

Concord for volunteers in the regular army or on privateersmen. Three hundred and ninety-seven recruits joined his regiment, the eleventh United States infantry, at Burlington, Vermont. This regiment was mainly from New Hampshire.

In November, 1812, eleven companies of volunteers rendezvoused at Concord and were organized as the First Regiment of New Hampshire Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Aquila Davis of Warner. In the following January the regiment was disbanded, and the enlisted men were distributed to regiments in the regular army, most of them in the forty-fifth United States regiment, of which Aquila Davis was lieutenant-colonel. Many reenlisted at the end of the year, that regiment being made up principally of New Hampshire men. A voluntary corps of infantry was organized, composed of men who were not liable by law to do military service, to be called upon only in case of invasion of the State, but no foreign foe, in any war, ever set foot on the soil of New Hampshire.

It was represented that the northern part of the State was in danger of invasion, and at the suggestion of Governor Plumer and by order of General Dearborn a company of detached militia from the brigade of General John Montgomery was stationed at Stewartstown, under command of Captain Ephraim H. Mahurin of Stratford, who as lawyer, sheriff, surveyor and commissioner had a long career of usefulness in Coos county. This company served six months. John Page Jr., was lieutenant of this company, who afterward served as United States senator and governor of his State. This company was relieved in January, 1813, by a company under command of Captain Edmund Freeman of Lebanon.

It is related that while British cruisers were off the coast of New Hampshire the people of Portsmouth became alarmed and assembled in town meeting to provide means of defense. Daniel Webster made one of his brilliant speeches. "Talk is not what the crisis demands. The forts near the town want repairs, want men to defend them when repaired. The government of the United States and the State government have been applied to for men to repair and defend these forts; but we know not that either will attend to our application. But one thing we do know, the crisis demands labor, and we can labor, we can repair

the forts. And then we know another thing, we can defend them. Now, I propose that every man who wants these forts, aye, the town of Portsmouth, defended, appear on parade tomorrow morning with pickaxe, spade, and shovel, and that they go to the islands and repair the forts." The next morning Mr. Webster went with his intrenching implements and joined a crowd of volunteer laborers. In a few days the defences were completed, and forts Washington and Sullivan were repaired.¹

The few ships of the American navy were generally victorious, and Commodores Perry and McDonough rendered notable service on the lakes. The privateers continually annoyed British commerce. Fourteen of them were fitted out at Portsmouth during the first year of the war. They were commissioned by the United States "to take, burn, sink and destroy the enemy wherever he could be found, either on high seas or in British ports." While the American navy were capturing twenty-six war vessels carrying six hundred guns, the privateers, in two years and a half took over fourteen hundred prizes, worth many millions of dollars. Yet American foreign trade was practically destroyed. One privateer took twenty-seven prizes in little over a month; another brought in twenty prizes in thirty days. Vessel for vessel and man for man the seamen of America far eclipsed those of England, and they restored to the American flag the glory lost by the weak and treacherous surrender of Detroit by General Hull and the massacres by England's Indian allies. Into the particulars of naval and military campaigns it is impossible rightly to enter in a history of New Hampshire. She had about two thousand of her citizen soldiery distributed in the regular army and navy, and they did their part well when under competent leadership. Perhaps enough may be said in biographical sketches of a few New Hampshire men who acted an honorable part in the War of 1812.

Major-General Henry Dearborn was born in Hampton, March, 1751. He settled as a physician in Nottingham in 1772, whence, at the call of Lexington he marched with sixty volunteers and joined General Stark's forces at Cambridge. He fought at the rail fence on Bunker Hill. With Arnold's ill-

¹ McClintock's Hist. of N. H., p. 496.



GEN. HENRY DEARBORN

fated expedition he endured the hardships and privations of that winter's march through the wilderness of northern Maine, from Augusta over the Bigelow range of mountains toward Quebec. In the assault upon that city Dearborn was taken prisoner. He was soon exchanged and made a major in Colonel Alexander Scammel's regiment. He fought with commendable gallantry at the battles of Stillwater and Saratoga, was with General Sullivan in the expedition against the Indians, and took part in the siege of Yorktown, being present at the surrender of Cornwallis. On the death of Scammel his regiment was assigned to Colonel Dearborn. After the revolutionary war he settled in Maine, where he was marshal by appointment of Washington. For two terms he was a member of congress and in 1801 entered Jefferson's cabinet as secretary of war. This office he held till 1809, when he was appointed collector of the port of Boston. On the outbreak of the War of 1812 he was appointed senior major-general in the army. Most of the military leaders were over sixty years of age, appointed by reason of some long past service in war or politics. Dearborn's plan of campaign aimed at the capture of Montreal by easy access by way of the Hudson and lake Champlain. He planned also invasions from Sackett's Harbor, Niagara and Detroit. The plan was good enough, if it could have been worked out by competent generals and well trained and hardened troops. Dearborn delayed at Albany to allow time for negotiations with the British, with a view to possible peace. Failing in this he marched his militia to the northern frontier of New York, when they refused to go any further, and he was obliged to return to Plattsburg for winter quarters. He was relieved of command in June, 1813. His failure seems to have been due to a lack of proper equipment and support. He needed an army and subordinates of courage, experience and vigor. Nevertheless, he captured York, in Canada, and Fort George, at the mouth of the Niagara.

In 1822 General Dearborn was appointed minister plenipotentiary to Portugal, whence he was recalled, at his own request, after an absence of two years. He settled at Boston and spent the rest of his life in attending to his farm in Maine and in private affairs. His retirement from the army was considered by many as a great mistake, and he retained his pop-

ularity. He died at Roxbury, Massachusetts, June 6, 1829, after a long and honorable public career. He was greater than the policy of his government.

Colonel James Miller was a native of Peterborough, born April 25, 1776, son of James Miller, of Scotch-Irish descent. He was educated at Amherst Academy and the college of Middlebury, Vermont. Having been admitted to the bar in 1803 he settled in the practice of law at Greenfield, where he soon became captain of an artillery company and showed such aptitude for command and in military affairs that at the earnest recommendation of General Benjamin Pierce he was commissioned major in the fourth regiment of United States Infantry, stationed at Fort Independence, in the harbor of Boston. This was in 1808. His regiment contained many officers and privates from New Hampshire, some being induced, by Major Miller's appointment, to enlist therein. In the War of 1812 this regiment took an active part in the western campaign, serving in the battles of Brownstown, Chippewa, Niagara and the sortie on Erie. As lieutenant-colonel Miller led his regiment to the thickest of the fight. After the battle of Niagara he was made a brigadier. When Canada was first invaded from Detroit, Colonel Miller, with the assistance of Colonel Lewis Cass of Ohio, another native of New Hampshire, had the honor of hoisting the first American flag in the enemy's territory. A citation from Potter's Military History of New Hampshire presents a vivid description of some part taken by New Hampshire men in the battle that followed this invasion, begun with high hopes and finished with disastrous retreat and surrender:

"At 12 m. our troops halted in an Indian clearing, its huts deserted, for refreshment. In an hour they resumed their march and had proceeded but little way when Capt. Snelling, of the advanced guard, found the enemy and commenced the attack, firing a volley and receiving a heavy fire in return. Snelling maintained his ground till the American force came up in line of battle, though within pistol shot of the British works and the bullets were falling like hail around him and his little company. As our first line advanced, it received the fire from most of the front ranks of the enemy, which was returned with spirit. The British troops with their brother savages then set up a yell,

rushed from behind their works, and the fight became severe and general. In a moment silence prevailed in our ranks, broken by the discharge of a six pounder. This carried dismay among the savages; but nearly became disastrous to us, as frightened by the noise Col. Miller's horse began to rear and plunge and finally threw his rider. All thought him killed, and the Indians ran forward to take his scalp, but were repulsed. The colonel soon remounted and continued to cheer on his men to the encounter. A second discharge of grape from the six-pounder broke the line of the enemy and the troops fled in disorder. Tecumseh and his Indians were so sure of victory, that they were in advance of the British lines and were driven back only at the point of the bayonet. Seeing the British troops fleeing down the river in disorder, Tecumseh and his Indians fled westerly into the wilderness. The retreating and routed enemy were hotly pursued, Tecumseh till he was lost sight of in the dense woods, and Muer to the shore of Lake Erie, where he took to his boats and returned to Malden with the greatest precipitation. Thus ended the battle of Brownstown, giving confidence to the Americans and disheartening the British and their savage allies. Caring for the dead and wounded the little army returned to Detroit. General Harrison observed in his report, "that the detachment led by that brave officer, Colonel Miller, did not exceed three hundred and fifty men; and, it is very certain, that they defeated two hundred British regulars, one hundred and fifty militia men and four or five hundred Indians."

Gen. Hull thinking his position on the Canada shore untenable, hastily retreated across the Detroit River, soon followed by the British General Brock, with a force superior in number, but composed mainly of militia and Indians.

On the 14th of August General Brock erected his batteries opposite Detroit and the next day commenced cannonading the town. The following day his army crossed the river, and meeting with no resistance marched directly forward to assault the fort. The Americans, in high spirits and confident of success, were prepared to meet him. What was their disappointment and chargin to see a white flag run out from the wall, in token of submission. The army, and with it the territory of Michigan, was surrendered to the British. The officers and

soldiers were filled with indignation, and in fact the whole people of the country, at this cowardly or traitorous surrender. Upon the surrender of Detroit, Colonel Miller, under date of August 27, 1812, thus wrote: "When I last wrote you my feelings were very different from what they are now. I thought things appeared prosperous and flattering; I considered we had a sufficient force to break down all opposition, and I still think had we done as we ought, we could have carried conquest to a very considerable extent. But, alas, times are now changed. We are now all prisoners of war. * * * Only one week since I, with six hundred men, completely conquered almost the whole force which they then had, but now they came and took Fort Detroit and made nearly two thousand prisoners, on Sunday the 16th instant. There being no operations going on against them below us, gave them an opportunity to reenforce. The number they brought against us is unknown, but my humble opinion is, we could have defeated them without a doubt, had we attempted it, but Gen. Hull thought differently and surrendered."

Gen. Hull, in his report of the surrender, says: "Before I close this dispatch it is a duty I owe to my respectable associates in command, Colonel McArthur, Findlay and Cass, and Lieutenant Colonel Miller, to express my obligations to them for the prompt and judicious manner they have performed their respective duties. If aught has taken place during the campaign which is honorable to the army, those officers are entitled to a large share of it. If the last act should be disapproved, no part of the censure belongs to them."

A more voluminous but substantially similar account of the battle of Brownstown was written by Major James Dalliba and published under the inspection of Colonel Miller. It is cited at length by Major John Richardson of the British forces and offset by different testimony. It is sometimes well to read the enemy's account of a battle. Major Richardson regarded the affair as only "a sharp skirmish," in which the Americans lost eighteen killed and sixty-three wounded, while the British loss, exclusive of the Indians, was one private killed and twenty-three officers and men wounded. It is evident that the British let the Indians do their fighting for them.²

² See Richardson's War of 1812, pp. 36-46.

Gen. Hull, in his report of the surrender of Detroit said that his entire force was not more than eight hundred and some of them were incapacitated by wounds and sickness, while Gen. Brock of the British Army reported that he captured twenty-five hundred prisoners. Hull said that the fort was filled with women and children and he feared to expose them to the ferocity of the Indians. Thus the reports conflict. Who can satisfactorily excuse a defeat and surrender?

Most readers will prefer to turn to the account of the battle of Bridgewater, or Lundy's Lane, as sketched artistically by Mr. Barstow, in his History of New Hampshire, where Colonel James Miller again appears and greatly to his credit. His conduct on this occasion has been often told:

The British artillery, posted on a commanding height, had annoyed our troops during the earlier part of the battle. "Can you storm that battery?" said General Ripley to Miller. "I'll try, sir," replied the warrior; then turned to his men, and, in a deep tone, issued a few brief words of command. "Twenty-first, attention. Form into a column. You will advance up the hill to the storm of the battery. At the word, *Halt*, you will deliver your fire at the port-light of the artillerymen, and immediately carry their guns at the point of the bayonet. Support arms—forward—march." Machinery could not have moved with more compactness than that gallant regiment. Followed by the twenty-third, the dark mass moved up the hill like one body—the lurid light flickering on their bayonets, as the combined force of the enemy's artillery and infantry opened murderously upon them. They flinched not—falterred not. The stern deep voice of the officers, as the deadly cannon-shot cut yawning chasms through them, alone was heard—"Close up—steady, men—steady." Within a hundred yards of the summit the loud *Halt* was followed by a volley, sharp and instantaneous as a clap of thunder. Another moment, rushing under the white smoke, a short furious struggle with the bayonet, and the battle was won. The enemy's line was driven down the hill, and their own cannon mowed them down by platoons. This brilliant success decided the fate of the conflict, and the American flag waved in triumph on that hill, scorched and blackened as it was by the flame of artillery, purpled with human gore and encumbered by the bodies of the slain.

This is the language of oratory and poetry and is quite pleasing to those who do not care to know the exact facts. Other historians say that it was General Jacob Brown who gave the order to Miller to charge the British battery. They say also that other troops engaged the attention and fire of the British, while Miller's three hundred crept up behind a screen of wall and bushes, and that when sharpshooters had picked

off the British gunners the capture of the guns was made with little effort and loss. Moreover, the same guns were recaptured by the British forces a few hours later, and the American army withdrew to Fort Erie. The losses on both sides in the battle of Lundy's Lane were about equal, over eight hundred, or one-third of the troops engaged. Both sides claimed the victory. It was proved that the Americans had learned to shoot and to stand their ground and face fire with unflinching courage. Generals Scott and Brown were not of the same fibre as General Hull.

James Miller was brevetted brigadier-general and given a gold medal by congress for his gallantry. He was governor of Arkansas from 1819 to 1825, and was collector of the port of Salem, Massachusetts from 1825 to 1849. He died at Temple, New Hampshire, July 7, 1851.

Other New Hampshire men rendered good service at Lundy's Lane. One was General Eleazer Wheelock Ripley, born at Hanover, April 15, 1752, grandson of the first president of Dartmouth College. For a time he practised law at Portland, Maine, and was sent as a member to the General Court of Massachusetts, where he was chosen speaker. He was colonel of the 21st Infantry and was promoted to brigadier-general in 1814. After Generals Scott and Brown had been wounded in the battle General Ripley took command, but his forces were so depleted and exhausted that he could do but little. He, too, had a gold medal from congress and was brevetted major-general. After the war he practised law in Louisiana and was a member of the United States congress from 1834 till his death, March 2, 1839. He was twice wounded in battle, once being shot through the neck.

John McNeil was one of the twenty men of Hillsborough who fought in the War of 1812. He, too, was at the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane. Entering the army as captain he became major and brevet colonel. Though wounded severely in the knee at Lundy's Lane he retained command till he was exhausted. He clung to the mane of his horse till he had fainted several times from loss of blood. A man of gigantic frame and powerful voice, his presence gave courage to his troops. He remained in the army till 1830, when he was appointed by President Jackson surveyor of the port of Boston.

He died in Washington, D. C., February 28, 1850, at the age of sixty-four. His wife was half sister to President Pierce.

Another New Hampshire man of distinction in this war was Timothy Upham, son of the Rev. Timothy Upham of Deerfield, where he was born in 1783. His mother was Hannah, daughter of the Rev. Nathaniel Gookin of Hampton. For several years he was a merchant in Portsmouth, and in 1811 served on the staff of Governor John Langdon as lieutenant-colonel. In 1812 he was commissioned major in the service of the United States, and was appointed to the command of the garrison at Fort McClary. In 1813 he was ordered to Portland to superintend recruiting in Maine. Having been commissioned lieutenant-colonel, he commanded his regiment, the 21st, at the sortie of Fort Erie and did gallant service. At the close of the war he resigned his commission and in 1816 was appointed collector of customs at Portsmouth, in which office he continued thirteen years. In the militia of New Hampshire he was made brigadier-general in 1819 and the following year was major-general. He was appointed navy agent at Portsmouth by President Harrison. Removing to Charlestown, Massachusetts in 1845 he engaged in business so long as health permitted. Here he died November 2, 1855.

Captain John W. Weeks of Lancaster commanded a company in the 11th United States Infantry and fought in the battle of Chippewa. He was brevetted for gallant service and at the close of the war was commissioned as major. He was one of the commissioners to run the boundary line between Maine and New Hampshire and was treasurer and sheriff of Coos county. He was State senator in 1827 and again in 1828, and in 1829 he was elected to serve two years as representative to the United States congress. He "was a man of marked character and great influence in his county." He died in 1853, aged 74 years.

In the election of 1813 the Federalists triumphed and sent John Taylor Gilman again to the gubernatorial chair. In his first message he voiced the discontent of his party with the conduct and motive of the war:

The consequences of the war in which our country is engaged cannot be foreseen; and there are divers opinions respecting the *necessity* of the war, as well as the *causes* which induced our Govrnment to make the declara-

tion. Under such circumstances it may be considered not only as the *right*, but the *duty*, of the Representatives of the people, to inquire into the causes which have brought so great a calamity on our country.

We are bound to support our system of National Government, and the laws emanating therefrom; but this by no means hinders the right of free inquiry, or the full expression of sentiments upon the measures of Government. Indeed, such inquiry may be a duty, not only as we are a member of the Union, but as it respects rights exclusively appertaining to the State.

It is not doubted but we have had great causes of complaint against both Great Britain and France; and perhaps at some former periods much greater against one or both of those governments, than existed against the British at the time of the declaration of war. . . . While we demand redress for injuries received from others, we should suitably regard their just expectations from us; and may we not, without being liable to the charge of justifying the conduct of Great Britain, inquire whether they have no just cause of complaint against our Government?—Whether our professions of strict and impartial neutrality, in the important contest between Great Britain and France, has been constantly maintained?—And whether there had not been a manifest difference in our resentments, and in the language and manner of seeking redress for wrongs, exhibiting an unwarrantable partiality for France? Whatever inquiries may be made, or opinions given, let us exercise candor and moderation, and constantly bear in mind, that those who differ from us in opinion possess equal rights.

The statement here made and advice given are so pertinent to the times in which we are now living, indeed, pertinent to all times, that the words of the wise governor are cited at some length. They were intended to draw out from the State senate a more pronounced expression of opinion and they had this effect. The senate voted, eight to four, to send a reply to the governor, which contained the following:

We are compelled to believe that war was prematurely declared, and that it is now prosecuted without sufficient justification; more especially, as the most powerful reason assigned in its favor hath long ago ceased to exist. . . . We feel indispensably obligated to exert every constitutional effort to bring this unhappy war to an honorable and speedy termination.

Although it is not doubted but we have great causes of complaint against both England and France; neither is it doubted but that they may have had causes of complaint against us; yet we are firm in the belief, that no cause of complaint existed between this country and Great Britain, prior to the declaration of war, which could not have been adjusted by candid, ingenious negotiation; and thus this solemn appeal "to the last resort of injured nations" have been avoided.

If the President of the United States, after our country had remained at peace for such a series of years, had considered, that to put the courage

and physical force of the nation to the test of experiment was an object of sufficient importance to justify the sacrifice, we are altogether at a loss for the reasons why Great Britain was selected for the adversary; fully believing that the injuries and indignities received from that nation have been exceeded by those which have been inflicted by France.

We are not prepared to indulge the idea, that our Cabinet, in imitation of royal and imperial Governments, would compel the subjects of our Federal Republic to draw the sword against their peaceable neighbors, for the only purpose of enlarging our territory, when the best informed of our citizens admit, that the attempt at the conquest of Canada would probably be attended with immense expense of blood and treasure and with a very uncertain result; and that the attainment of that object would operate as an injury to the nation. In thus freely expressing our opinion respecting this subject of so much importance we by no means denounce those of our fellow citizens who appear to have formed different opinions.

The words above cited express quite well the minds of the Federalists in New England throughout the War of 1812. They had no heart in it and were longing to see its end. It called for no such expression of patriotism as did the war of the Revolution. Its defeats by land were discouraging. Its drafts upon men and money were grudgingly met. The great body of the militia preferred to stay within their own State. Fears of invasion distressed the people. Commerce was almost ruined, and there was financial distress. It looked to many as though we had everything to lose and nothing to gain. The conquest of Canada grew hopeless, and it was undesired by the majority. The country was ready to make great concessions to obtain peace. A small minority talked about the secession of New England and an independent alliance of the same with England, and English agents were said to be here for the purpose of ascertaining and increasing such sentiment. Massachusetts organized a State army of ten thousand men for her own defense. Her legislature authorized a convention to be held at Hartford, Connecticut, to consider the political and military situation, in consultation with delegates from other New England States.

The convention met at Hartford, December 15, 1814. Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island sent accredited delegates. New Hampshire was represented by two informal delegates, Benjamin West from Cheshire county, and Mills Olcott from Grafton. Later in the convention William Hall,

Jr., appeared as the sole representative of Vermont. The leading men in the convention were George Cabot, Nathan Dane, William Prescott and Harrison G. Otis of Massachusetts, and Chauncey Goodrich and Roger M. Sherman of Connecticut. They deliberated for about twenty days, and an agent of the United States government was in Hartford to spy out what was being done, but the convention sat with closed doors, and nobody ever learned just what was said. A journal of the proceedings was published not long after their adjournment, in which there appears nothing more than was freely talked in State legislatures and public newspapers. The convention never was blamed for what it published, but for the supposed treasonable purpose that called them together. The nation needed their support rather than their criticism. They deprecated disunion and urged ways of preventing it, but they should not have considered its possibility, especially in the time of war, when the President needed help from all the States. The responsibility of holding such a convention rests with Massachusetts, and various defenses have been set up for it, but the battle of New Orleans and the speedy end of the war rendered a second proposed meeting unnecessary and brought the members of the Hartford convention into public odium.

The convention reaffirmed the position taken already by the New England States and New York, that the President of the United States had no power to order the militia of any State to service beyond their respective State boundaries. It recommended that each State should prepare to defend itself and to assist neighboring States on request of the governor thereof. Seven amendments of the Constitution were proposed: 1. Representation and taxation according to free population. 2. No new State to be admitted into the Union without the concurrence of two-thirds of both Houses. 3. No embargo for more than sixty days. 4. No non-intercourse act except by two-thirds of both Houses. 5. No declaration of war without a similar vote. 6. No naturalized person to be a member of the Senate or House of Representatives of the United States, nor to hold any civil office under the authority of the United States. 7. No second term of office for the President of the United States, nor shall the President be elected from the same State two terms in succession. Surely there is nothing revolutionary

in such suggestions, nothing to indicate disloyalty to the American Union. The seventh proposed amendment must have been aimed at the restriction of the power of Virginia. She was furnishing too many presidents to suit Massachusetts.

A glance at the two men in this convention from New Hampshire is enough to assure us that they had no other purpose in view than the welfare of the country. Benjamin West was a native of Rochester, Massachusetts, and after studying at Nassau and graduating at Harvard in 1768, he studied for the ministry but found that he had no taste for that calling. Then he studied law and practised in Charlestown all his life, excepting a short stay in South Carolina in the early years of the revolution. He was of a retiring, quiet disposition averse to holding public office, though often urged so to do. As a pleader at the bar he was acknowledged to stand at the head. In private character as a Christian gentleman and citizen his life was a model of excellence. He was chosen delegate to Hartford by a caucus of twenty towns of Cheshire county. Some warned him of danger in going, but he replied that he was getting old and he might save the neck of some younger man. He was a Federalist and opposed to the war and sought some way to end it. He died in Charlestown, in 1817, highly respected and valued for his character, aid in public education and legal preeminence.

Mills Olcott, son of Gov. Peter Olcott of Vermont, graduated at Dartmouth in 1790, having been fitted for college at the age of twelve. He studied law with Benjamin West and settled in Hanover, where he spent his life. He was for several years treasurer of Dartmouth College and longer one of its trustees. He became prominent as a lawyer and useful citizen, enjoying the confidence of his fellow citizens in a high degree. He died at Hanover in 1845, aged seventy-one years. One of his daughters married Rufus Choate. The suspicion can not be entertained by any candid mind, that such men as Benjamin West and Mills Olcott,—and the rest of the Hartford convention were like them,—were hatching secession and saying treasonable things in the secrecy of that meeting. They simply voiced the discontent and the policy of the Federalists of New England. Some hoped and others feared that they would say something radical and extreme.

The treaty of Ghent was concluded December 24, 1814, two weeks before the needless battle of New Orleans. The treaty left unnoticed the main causes of the war, leaving some disputed questions to the settlement of time and sobered minds. The United States had expended in the war over a hundred million dollars and sacrificed thirty thousand lives, besides great destruction of property and commerce. The whole claim of New Hampshire against the United States for expenses incurred during the war was \$64,552.20, of which \$12,261.85 were rejected as inadmissible.³ The export trade had fallen to about one-twentieth of its former amount. "Some 1400 American vessels, with over 20,000 seamen had been captured by British cruisers." On the other hand, 2,416 British vessels had been captured by us, including fifty-six warships. The legislature of New Hampshire raised the question, "What has been gained?" There was no answer. We could have gained vastly more without the war, by patient and courteous diplomacy. We had no hatred for England and Canada; they had no hatred for us. We have lived peaceably ever since, with no need of a navy on the Great Lakes. The war and the Hartford Convention put an end to the Federalist party. The military leaders, like Harrison and Jackson, came to the front as nominees of a political party. War boosts to eminence some men that otherwise would remain unknown. Is that a reason for gingoism?

³ House Journal for 1820, p. 358.

Chapter III

THE DARTMOUTH COLLEGE CASE

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Importance of the Case—Its Origin—Division in the Church—The Case Mixed with Politics—Dartmouth University versus Dartmouth College—Legalized Effort to Steal the College—Two Years of Peaceable Opposition on the College Campus—President Brown—Death of President John Wheelock—Suit for the Recovery of College Property—The College Cast in the Suit at Exeter—Appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States—Ground of the Appeal—Impairment of the Obligation of a Contract—Famous Speech of Webster—The Decision and Its Far-reaching Results.

SO many restatements of this famous case have been put into print that nothing new can be added in the narration of the historic facts. By omitting much that might weary and try the patience of the reader perhaps attention may be arrested and held. The case forms an important part of the history of New Hampshire because of its bearings upon the rights of all literary institutions and because of the far-reaching decision concerning a constitutional principle. The prominent part that was taken in this case by Daniel Webster adds special interest to every native of the Granite State.

The case had its origin in the unyielding obstinacy of President John Wheelock and in an irreligious quarrel between opposing factions in religion. The theory of Wheelock was that Dartmouth College was practically his private inheritance and that therefore his wishes must be respected and obeyed. His father had made the institution and devised it to him, naming him as his successor in the presidency. His immediate relatives made up the faculty. Two of the trustees were his brothers-in-law. The number of students during his administration had grown remarkably. Dartmouth ranked with Yale in reputation. It was the pride of New Hampshire.

There was a division in "The Church of Christ at Dartmouth College," whose edifice, reared in 1795, belonged not to the college but to residents of Hanover who had built it. These

sought rental from the college, and the trustees voted that "each member of the college shall pay one dollar on the second Wednesday in March for preaching and the use of seats in the meeting house for the ensuing year." This raised a storm of protest. It was hard enough to be obliged to go to church, and to pay for listetning to Professor Smith was thought by the students to be unendurable. Opposition was such that the trustees revoked the order. Then the president and all the students, with Professor Smith, seceded and held their religious service in the college chapel. A compromise was made in 1798 and all went back to the church. Soon there was another wrangle as to who should do the preaching. This time the people of the town seceded and organized "The Congregation in the Vicinity of Dartmouth College" and called Professor Shurtleff to be their minister. The same meeting house was used by both factions, but the brethren did not dwell together in unity. It could not be said of them as it was of the early Christian Church, "Behold how these Christians love one another." Wheelock sought to oust Shurtleff; the trustees, now become more inclined to Congregationalism than to Presbyterianism, thought it better to oust Wheelock. They warned him indirectly and curbed his powers. The controversy got into the public newspapers and was heralded all over the State and in Boston. Wheelock and his friends published pamphlets, assailing the trustees in the vitriolic manner of the times. The dispute became political, the Federalists siding with the trustees and the Democrats with President Wheelock. Dartmouth College became the leading issue in the next State election, and members of the legislature were chosen as being favorable or unfavorable to the college president.

In 1815 Wheelock applied to the legislature for help, alleging that the trustees were scheming in aid of a party or sect and so undermining "the political independence of the people." He asked for a committee of investigation and his request was granted. The committee went to Hanover, and Daniel Webster was expected by Wheelock to be present in his aid, but the advocate failed to appear, as the result of a misunderstanding, and soon it was found that Mr. Webster was ranked on the side of the trustees. The outcome of the dispute with the trustees was that President Wheelock was summarily deposed

from office and the Rev. Francis Brown of Yarmouth, Maine, who had graduated from the college in 1805, was elected in his stead.

At the next State election, the Democrats won and Governor Plumer was in the executive chair. The legislature and governor were partisans of Wheelock and were in favor of a State University. Daniel Webster is said to have favored at first such a university, to be located at Concord, as a settlement of the Dartmouth controversy. The legislature of 1816 thought it easier to take over Dartmouth College and convert it entirely to the purposes of the State, and some even now think that if they had succeeded, it would have been better for Dartmouth. That institution, however, and its alumni are well satisfied with its record. A bill was passed, changing the name of the college to Dartmouth University. The number of the trustees was increased from twelve to twenty-one. The board of overseers was made up of twenty-five, including *ex officio* the governor and council, the president of the senate and speaker of the house, and the governor and lieutenant-governor of Vermont. These boards after long delay in efforts to get together a quorum and after legislative acts to assist them organized the University, with John Wheelock as President and departments of liberal arts, theology, law and medicine, on paper. The legislature enacted that any person who should assume to perform the duties of president or professor in the college, except as the legislature authorized them, should forfeit for each offense five hundred dollars.

The trustees of the college refused to take part in the meetings of the trustees of the university, and this was what prevented a quorum. Only Judge Woodward, the secretary and treasurer of the college, and brother-in-law to President Wheelock, went over to the new board, carrying the seal of the college, the records and the college property. This effort to transfer the property became the foundation for the subsequent suit at law.

The college faculty kept right on with their work, in spite of the threatened penalties of the law, and they were not disturbed. The students remained with the college. A very few students, mainly from Hanover, enrolled with the university. The former were called "hoi polloi"; the latter were "the few yet

brave." They answered to the ringing of the same bell. They passed each other on the college campus for two years with only smiles and jests. Civil war began only when the university men tried to take away the books that belonged to the college library. Then axes and clubs were brandished, but the few university students succumbed to the overwhelming numbers of the college, and the books remained with the college. In this fracas some of the professors took part. Both parties were waiting for the courts to decide who had lawful possession of the college and its appurtenances.

Notwithstanding an invitation to President Brown to become the head of Hamilton College at nearly double the salary he had at Dartmouth, he decided to remain and do battle for the college. In this fight he had the aid of Professors Shurtleff and Adams. With them increasingly were the sympathies of the people, and the ministers and churches were strongly on the side of the college. To them it seemed to be an effort of a Democratic legislature to seize and control an institution that had been founded by private beneficence and assisted but feebly by the State. State Universities were then a new conception. Almost all the colleges of the country had been founded by religious people for the furtherance of the aims of the church. To this day "godless" State Universities are decried by some denominational zealots. A day of prayer was appointed for the college, that its enemies might not overthrow it.

On the fourth of April, 1817, President John Wheelock, died, after having given to the University property valued at twenty thousand dollars, and other property was given in his will, conditionally. His son-in-law, Rev. William Allen, succeeded him as president, who later became president of Bowdoin College. Dartmouth University at its opening March 5, 1817, had one student in attendance, while the college had one hundred and thirty students besides those in the Medical School.

The trustees of the college brought suit against Judge Woodward for the recovery of the college seal and other property. The trial began at Haverhill in May, 1817 and the champions of the college were Jeremiah Smith and Jeremiah Mason, two of the ablest lawyers in New Hampshire. On the other side were employed George Sullivan and Ichabod Bartlett, both versed in the law and eloquent pleaders. The case was

continued in September at Exeter. Meanwhile the State and college were honored by a visit from President Monroe and at the commencement thirty-nine were graduated from the college, eight from the university and eleven from the medical school.

The closing argument at Exeter was made by Daniel Webster, and many ministers and lawyers were present to hear the pleadings. Each one of the five lawyers employed spoke for two hours or more. Mr. Webster closed with an eloquent appeal to the emotions, which drew tears from his own and other eyes, and the same appeal, in an elaborated form, was the peroration of his great argument later at Washington.

A competent critic has made an able analysis of Mr. Mason's brief in this case.¹ He argued that "the acts of the legislature were not obligatory, 1, because they were not within the general scope of legislative power; 2, because they violated certain provisions of the Constitution of New Hampshire; 3, because they violated the Constitution of the United States," by impairing the obligation of a contract made in the original charter of the college. The counsel for the college all relied upon the strength of the first argument. They urged that the college was founded by private persons, who had given money for particular ends and that the charter was given to perpetuate those ends. Mason declared that the State had no more right to take the property of Dartmouth College and give it to another corporation than it had to take his house from him without paying for it and give it to another man. Little was said about impairing the obligation of contracts, although on this point alone appeal was made to the United States supreme court. Its paramount importance was overlooked by all the lawyers at first. It had been suggested by President John Wheelock a few years before. Mr. Lodge says that "this doctrine of impairing the obligation of contracts, which produced a decision in its effects more far-reaching and of more general interest than perhaps any other ever made in this country, was imported into the case at the suggestion of laymen, was little esteemed by counsel, and was comparatively neglected in every argument."

¹ Daniel Webster, by Henry Cabot Lodge, p. 78.

The decision of the court was reserved for the next term, which was held at Plymouth. Webster expected Plumer's court to sustain Plumer's opinion and wishes, and it did. The State had a right to control institutions it had chartered and aided, and the management of colleges and universities must suit changing political parties. Everybody expected an appeal from such a decision, for it had been the common talk throughout the State that the case would go to the supreme court of the United States. Here the case was entrusted to Mr. Webster and Mr. Joseph Hopkinson of Philadelphia, author of *Hail Columbia*. Mason and Smith dropped out. The opposing counsel were John Holmes, afterward senator from Maine, and William Wirt, attorney general of the United States. Neither of these was a match for even Hopkinson, and Webster met no arguments that had not been advanced in the lower court. All the legal points had been well considered in the previous arguments of Smith and Mason, and Webster himself acknowledged that all he did was to arrange and restate their arguments. He introduced much irrelevant matter and shrewdly and indirectly appealed to political prejudices, hinting that the "Jacobins" were attacking a Federalist institution. The case was won by Webster not so much by use of law and reason as by eloquence and pathos. It was his emotional oratory that swayed the judges.

Mr. Webster occupied five hours in the delivery of his argument, yet the printed report could easily have been delivered in two hours. The latter is a condensation of the legal argument, dry and destitute of emotion. The political suggestions, the fervid emotions, the eloquent appeals, the overwhelming peroration have been left out of the law abstracts that report the great speech. We owe much to a letter of Professor Chauncey A. Goodrich, of Yale College, to Rufus Choate. Professor Goodrich went to Washington for the very purpose of hearing Mr. Webster. His letter is as follows:

Mr. Webster entered upon his argument in the calm tone of easy and dignified conversation. His matter was so completely at his command that he scarcely looked at his brief, but went on for more than four hours with a statement so luminous and a chain of reasoning so easy to be understood, and yet approaching so nearly to absolute demonstration, that he seemed to carry with him every man of his audience, without the slightest effort of uneasiness on either side. It was hardly eloquence, in the strict sense of the

term; it was pure reason. Now and then for a sentence or two his eye flashed and his voice swelled into a bolder note, as he uttered some emphatic thought, but he instantly fell back into the tone of earnest conversation, which ran throughout the great body of his speech. A single circumstance will show the clearness and absorbing power of his argument. I observed Judge Story sit, pen in hand, as if to take notes. Hour after hour I saw him fixed in the same attitude; but I could not discover that he made a single note. The argument ended, Mr. Webster stood for some moments silent before the court, while every eye was fixed intently upon him. At length, addressing Chief Justice Marshall, he said,—

"This, sir, is my case. It is the case, not merely of that humble institution, it is the case of every college in our land. It is more, it is the case of every eleemosynary institution throughout our country, of all those great charities founded by the piety of our ancestors to alleviate human misery, and scatter blessings along the pathway of human life. It is more. It is, in some sense, the case of every man who has property of which he may be stripped,—for the question is simply this: Shall our State legislatures be allowed to take that which is not their own, to turn it from its original use, and apply it to such ends or purposes as they, in their discretion, shall see fit? Sir, you may destroy this little institution; it is weak; it is in your hands. I know it is one of the lesser lights in the literary horizon of our country. You may put it out; but if you do, you must carry through your work. You must extinguish, one after another, all those great lights of science which, for more than a century, have thrown their radiance over the land. It is, sir, as I have said, a small college, *and yet there are those that love it*—"

Here the feelings which he had thus far succeeded in keeping down, broke forth. His lips quivered; his firm cheeks trembled with emotion; his eyes were filled with tears; his voice choked, and he seemed struggling to the utmost, simply to gain the mastery over himself which might save him from an unmanly burst of feeling. I will not attempt to give you the few broken words of tenderness in which he went on to speak of his attachment to the College. The whole seemed to be mingled with the recollections of father, mother, brother, and all the privations through which he had made his way into life. Every one saw that it was wholly unpremeditated,—a pressure on his heart which sought relief in words and tears.

The court-room during these two or three minutes presented an extraordinary spectacle. Chief Justice Marshall, with his tall, gaunt figure bent over as if to catch the slightest whisper, the deep furrows of his cheek expanded with emotion, and eyes suffused with tears; Mr. Justice Washington at his side with his small and emaciated frame, and countenance more like marble than I ever saw on any other human being, leaning forward with an eager, troubled look; and the remainder of the court at the two extremities, pressing, as it were, towards a single point, while the audience below were wrapping themselves round in closer folds beneath the bench to catch each look, and every movement of the speaker's face. . . . There was not one among the strong-minded men of that assembly who could think it

unmanly to weep, when he saw standing before him the man who had made such an argument melted into the tenderness of a child.

Mr. Webster, having recovered his composure and fixed his keen eye upon the Chief Justice, said, in that deep tone with which he sometimes thrilled the heart of an audience,—

"Sir, I know not how others may feel" (glancing at the opponents of the College before him, some of whom were its graduates), "but, for myself, when I see my alma mater surrounded, like Caesar in the senate house, by those who are reiterating stab upon stab, I would not, for this right hand, have her turn to me and say, *Et tu quoque, mi fili—And thou too, my son.*"

He sat down; there was a deathlike stillness throughout the room for some moments; every one seemed to be slowly recovering himself and coming gradually back to his ordinary range of thought and feeling.²

Professor Goodrich was mistaken in supposing this peroration to be wholly unpremeditated. It was an expansion and modification of what he had said at Exeter. It was carefully thought out, and probably its words were to a large extent held in memory for this occasion. One can be as emotional at his study-table as before a great audience. It is the theme, the thought, that awakens emotion, as when Hawthorne read with tears some portions of his Scarlet Letter to his wife, where both knew he was speaking of imaginary persons. An emotional nature thus expresses itself almost irresistibly, and the irrepressible gets home to the hearts of others, whether one is dealing with fiction or with facts, whether one uses sound or sophistical arguments. Emotion is no criterion of truth. It is, however, a powerful part of oratory, having sometimes hypnotic influence.

Chief Justice Marshall read a decision, to which four other judges assented, that the college charter was a contract within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, and that the act of the legislature of New Hampshire impaired this contract and therefore was unconstitutional and void. "The immediate effect of the decision was to leave the college in the hands of the victorious Federalists. In the precedent which it established, however, it had much deeper and more far-reaching results. It brought within the scope of the Constitution of the United States every charter granted by a State, limited the action of the States in a most important attribute of sovereignty, and extended the jurisdiction of the highest federal court more than

² Cited in *The Story of Dartmouth*, by Wilder Dwight Quint, pp. 109-112.

any other judgment ever rendered by them. From the day when it was announced to the present time, the doctrine of Marshall in the Dartmouth College case has continued to exert an enormous influence, and has been constantly sustained, and attacked in litigation of the greatest importance." This is the opinion of Senator Lodge.

The decision, doubtless, has lent stability to educational and other chartered institutions. It has prevented a wrongful diversion of funds from the purpose for which those funds were given. It has taken schools of learning out of the hands of party politics. The principle, however, that a charter granted to a corporation by one legislature can not be changed or modified by a subsequent body of legislators, its legitimate successor, is disputed by able jurists and seems to be unsound. The trustees of Dartmouth College were ready for almost any modification of their charter, if they could only get rid of President Wheelock. The grasp of the dead hand must often be relaxed or made to open. The past has no right to bind the future with unbreakable fetters. Institutions and corporations that do not well serve the public under changed conditions should be compelled by proper legislation to yield to present demands. Legislators should continually ask the question, What is right, just and good now? Nothing in the past should prevent an answer expressed in legislative act.³

³ In this connection it is well to read *The Dartmouth College Courses*, by John M. Shirley.

Chapter IV
DANIEL WEBSTER



DANIEL WEBSTER'S BIRTHPLACE IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Chapter IV

DANIEL WEBSTER.

Birthplace—Preparation for College—Life at Dartmouth—Teaching at Fryeburg Academy—Conservatism in Religion—Study of Law—Beginnings at Boscawen—Removal to Portsmouth—Enters Congress—Federalist in Politics—Removal to Boston—Patriotic Orator—Representative from Massachusetts—Sent to the Senate—Reply to Hayne—Peroration of His Great Speech—Secretary of State—The Ashburton Treaty—Senator again—The Seventh of March Speech—The Mighty Fallen?—Denunciations of the Abolitionists—Character as a Statesman—He still Lives.

A HISTORY of New Hampshire without a sketch of the life of Daniel Webster would leave out the part of Hamlet in the play. The State is justly proud of him as an orator and statesman, although some of the utterances of his last years have been severely criticised. It was Job who said, "Great men are not always wise, neither do the aged understand judgment." The wisest of men can not always foresee the future and know in advance the results of their deeds. "The best laid plans of mice and men gang aft awry." Great men are not belittled by an occasional mistake, and wisdom sometimes passes for error.

Daniel Webster was born in Salisbury, New Hampshire, January 18, 1782. His father was Capt. Ebenezer Webster, who settled on the extreme northern frontier in that town, in 1763, when there was nothing but forest, Indians and wild beasts between him and Canada. The little log house he built decayed long ago. The frame house that succeeded it has been "restored" of late and is visited by many. It consists of two rooms on the ground floor and an open attic above, reached by a rough stair-case. One room below was the kitchen, dining-room and living-room; the other was sleeping-room of the parents. All the children slept in the attic, on husk-beds spread upon the floor. Such was the custom of the times. Back of the house was a saw-mill, on the brook that furnished water power a part of the year.

Daniel Webster grew to have a magnificent form, but in

early life he was considered weak and sickly. Some say he was indolent. At any rate he loved books better than manual labor on the farm. So he was humored and aided by the rest of the family, and throughout life he seemed to feel that it was his rightful privilege to receive assistance from others, especially of a financial character. Yet he was grateful for help and extended it to his brother Ezekiel, when the opportunity came.

His father had served in Rogers' Rangers and throughout the revolutionary war. In later life he was made judge of the local court, with a salary of three or four hundred dollars. This was after he had moved to the present village of Franklin. With the most rigid economy he planned to send two of his sons to Dartmouth College. Daniel, the younger, went first and then helped Ezekiel to pay his expenses. A part of his preparation for college was obtained at Phillips Exeter Academy and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Wood of Boscawen supplied the rest. His instructor seems to have been a whole fitting school in himself, the kind of a teacher who needs no assistance, an inspirer of youth. Dr. Wood is said to have fitted one hundred young men for college at one dollar per week for board and tuition.

With some knowledge of Latin and Greek Daniel Webster entered Dartmouth college in 1797 and spent four years there, reading the books in the library more than studying his textbooks. His memory was so good that he needed but little study to stand among the foremost in scholarly rank. One year he paid his board by editing or superintending a small weekly newspaper. A college course in his time was little better than a course in a well organized High School today. The chief benefit, then and now, was and is the associations with growing minds and the inspirations of capable instructors. Daniel spent his time in college in reading and playing, easily first in his studies, and recognized as a man of unusual abilities. He acquired much knowledge of many things and held the same in memory, somewhat like a cyclopedia, yet he was never a student and scholar, in the severe and strenuous sense of those words. He relied more upon native than acquired abilities. He was broader than he was deep. At Exeter he was so diffident that he could not "declaim" in public; at Dartmouth he commanded attention as a speaker and gave the Fourth of July oration

at Hanover before he finished his college course. He had a natural gift of speech. His tone, look, manner and choice of words made him eloquent. As an orator he was like the poet, born rather than made, although study and practice constantly improved his oratory. Other men have grown to eloquence by diligent effort; he was eloquent from the beginning and as a boy could read so as to charm his hearers. Dignity and strength were in his manner and voice. He wrote some rhymes but was not a poet. He lacked in constructive imagination. His early efforts in public speaking revealed a love for his country and its Constitution and a grasp of fundamental principles of law.

After graduation he studied law a little in his home village, read more of English literature, hunted and fished. Driven by financial necessity he taught school at Fryeburg Academy, in Maine. Here he supported himself by copying deeds and gave all his salary for a term to his brother Ezekiel, to help him through college. Many years after, when Daniel was senator at Washington, he recalled the weariness of copying deeds and declared that his arm still ached at the remembrance of it. His school work at Fryeburg opened and closed each day with extemporaneous prayer. He united with the Congregational church in Salisbury and throughout his life ranked himself as a conservative Christian believer. Indeed he never examined the foundations of his religious faith. He took his theology at second hand, accepted the current beliefs and never troubled himself about theological differences of opinion. The religion of his parents was good enough for him. Other matters were of more importance in his plan of life.

After teaching at Fryeburg he returned to the study of law at Salisbury and a little later, having obtained a situation for his brother in a private school in Boston, he also went there and entered as a student the law office of Christopher Gore, later governor of Massachusetts and United States senator. Here he made the acquaintance of some prominent men. He refused the office of clerk of courts, which his father obtained for him, and where he could have had a salary of fifteen hundred a year, and preferred, by advice of Mr. Gore, to open a law office for himself at Boscawen, not far from his home, having been admitted to the bar, in Boston, in 1805. In two years he made sufficient headway and acquired such experience that he felt

warranted in removing to Portsmouth and leaving his office and practice at Boscawen to his brother Ezekiel. The latter became a prominent lawyer and an exemplary citizen. He was a man of noble form and heart, highly respected and much beloved, whose tragic and early death blighted the promise of a brilliant career. The earnings of Daniel Webster at Boscawen were five hundred dollars a year and a state-wide reputation. During this time his father died, after having spent his life and all for the welfare of his family and in devotion to the interests of his town, state and nation.

At Portsmouth Mr. Webster came in contact with the giants of the New Hampshire bar, with William Plumer, who defeated him in his first contest, with Jeremiah Mason, who taught him much and with whom he was always in firmest friendship, with Jeremiah Smith, the learned judge, and with George Sullivan, the eloquent pleader. His practice soon grew to be worth two thousand dollars or more annually, a princely sum in those days, but Webster's income never was anywhere sufficient to keep him out of debt. This was one of his weaknesses, for great men are not always completely square. Webster was a Federalist in politics, and this fact for a while kept him out of office. He kept making speeches here and there, which won him reputation as an orator. He spoke and wrote against the war of 1812, and this obtained for him his first election to congress, in 1813. Here he argued for a navy and for only defensive warfare. He argued also for the establishment of a national bank. In debate he had to measure forces with such men as Clay, Pinckney, Randolph and Calhoun. His reputation as a political thinker and eloquent speaker steadily increased. He was reelected to the succeeding congress and was challenged to a duel by John Randolph, which he refused to accept, in a dignified manner. The next five years were spent in practice of law at Portsmouth and Boston. To the latter place he removed in 1816.

His first year at Boston brought him an income of twenty thousand dollars. His practice in the supreme court kept him busy, and the remuneration was ample. Here he was called to deliver the famous orations at Plymouth and Bunker Hill, as well as to defend Dartmouth College from the clutches of the New Hampshire legislature. Webster was most at home as an

orator when he was defending the Constitution and the Union of the States. On patriotic occasions he was at his best. Occasional addresses, which are most difficult for the majority of public speakers, were choicest opportunities for Webster. Historical imagination he possessed and could picture with words great events. The grandeur of historic events and deeds flowed through his soul in speech and into the souls of his audience, producing vision and intense emotions. Their aroused feelings rekindled his own. There was thus a circle of thrilling inspiration. His great speeches in the Dartmouth Case, at Plymouth and at Bunker Hill, his reply to Hayne in the senate and his seventh of March speech are the mountain peaks of Webster's oratory, but there were other lofty utterances that were sufficient to make any man famous as an orator.

Massachusetts returned Daniel Webster to congress in 1823, and for six years more he was an acknowledged leader in the house. One of his great speeches at this time was that expressing sympathy for Greece in her struggle for liberty, a speech that was translated into all the languages of Europe. It laid the foundation for his reputation abroad and brought the United States into notice as one of the world powers to be reckoned with. With the assistance of Judge Story he secured the passage of the "Crimes Act," which codified the whole body of criminal law. He defended the "Monroe Doctrine" and championed the cause of the Creek Indians against the encroachments of Georgia. At that time he thought it unnecessary to conciliate the South and spoke his mind with boldness in the face of denunciations.

In 1827 Massachusetts gave him a seat in the United States senate, and no man ever reflected more honor upon his State. His work was specially to defend the tariff and the Constitution. The latter he did in his celebrated reply to Hayne, overthrowing the doctrine that a State might nullify the law of the nation. Everybody is familiar with the speech. The occasion has been finely described by Senator Lodge:

On the morning of the memorable day the senate chamber was packed by an eager and excited crowd. Every seat on the floor and in the galleries was occupied, and all the available standing-room was filled. The protracted debate, conducted with so much ability on both sides, had excited the attention of the country, and had given time for the arrival of hundreds of

interested spectators from all parts of the Union, and especially from New England. The fierce attacks of the Southern leaders had angered and alarmed the people of the North. They longed with an intense longing to have these assaults met and repelled, and yet they could not believe that this apparently desperate feat could be successfully accomplished. Men of the North and of New England could be known in Washington, in those days, by their indignant but dejected looks and downcast eyes. They gathered in the senate chamber on the appointed day, quivering with anticipation, and with hope and fear struggling for the mastery in their breasts. With them were mingled those who were there from mere curiosity, and those who had come rejoicing in the confident expectation that the Northern champion would suffer failure and defeat.

In the midst of the hush of expectation, in that dead silence which is so peculiarly oppressive because it is possible only when many human beings are gathered together, Mr. Webster rose. He had sat impassive and immovable during all the preceding days, while the storm of debate and invective had beaten about his head. At last his time had come; and as he rose and stood forth, drawing himself up to his full height, his personal grandeur and his majestic calm thrilled all who looked upon him. With perfect quietness, unaffected apparently by the atmosphere of intense feeling about him, he said, in a low, even tone; "Mr. President: When the mariner has been tossed for many days in thick weather and on an unknown sea, he naturally avails himself of the first pause in the storm, the earliest glance of the sun, to take his latitude and ascertain how far the elements have driven him from his true course. Let us imitate his prudence; and, before we float farther on the waves of this debate, refer to the point from which we departed, that we may, at least, be able to conjecture where we now are. I ask for the reading of the resolution before the Senate." The opening sentence was a piece of consummate art. The simple and appropriate image, the low voice, the calm manner, relieved the strained excitement of the audience, which might have ended by disconcerting the speaker, if it had been maintained. Every one was now at his ease; and when the monotonous reading of the resolution ceased, Mr. Webster was master of the situation, and had his listeners in complete control. With breathless attention they followed him as he proceeded. The strong masculine sentences, the sarcasm, the pathos, the reasoning, the burning appeals to love of State and country, flowed on unbroken. As his feelings warmed the fire came into his eyes; there was a glow on his swathy cheek; his strong right arm seemed to sweep away resistlessly the whole phalanx of his opponents, and the deep and melodious cadences of his voice sounded like harmonious organ-tones as they filled the chamber with their music. As the last words died away in silence, those who had listened looked wonderingly at each other, dimly conscious that they had heard one of the grand speeches which are landmarks in the history of eloquence; and the men of the North and of New England went forth full of the pride of victory, for their champion had triumphed, and no assurance was needed to prove to the world that this time no answer could be made.¹

¹ Daniel Webster, by Henry Cabot Lodge, pp. 177-179.

Senator Hayne of South Carolina had argued that a State had the right to determine for itself whether a law enacted by the national congress were constitutional or not, and his State was threatening to set aside the tariff law. The theory on which the doctrine of State Rights rested was, that the American Union was a confederation, an experiment in government, and that the Constitution was a compact of sovereign states, any one of which might break the compact at will. There are historical arguments in favor of this view, but, whatever may have been the original intentions of the framers of the Constitution,—and there were differences of intention,—the states had grown together into one. Acts of congress had assumed that there was a single nation and that the whole controlled the parts. All rights not reserved to the states in the Constitution were yielded to the nation as a whole. The union could be dissolved only by voluntary consent, or by revolution. All the previous training of Webster fitted him for the mighty occasion. His study of constitutional rights and privileges from boyhood had gathered arguments, illustrations and powerful forms of expression. His memory was stored with thunderbolts that flashed before him, and all he had to do was to reach out and catch them as they went flaming by. His encomium of Massachusetts and the peroration of his first reply to Hayne are familiar to almost every school boy. The latter is too good to omit:

I have not allowed myself, Sir, to look beyond the Union, to see what might lie hidden in the dark recess behind. I have not coolly weighed the chances of preserving liberty when the bonds that unite us together shall be broken assunder. I have not accustomed myself to hang over the precipice of disunion to see whether, with my short sight, I can fathom the depth of the abyss below; nor could I regard him as a safe counsellor in the affairs of this government whose thoughts should be mainly bent on considering, not how the Union may be best preserved, but how tolerable might be the condition of the people when it should be broken up and destroyed. While the Union lasts, we have high, exciting, gratifying prospects spread out before us, for us and for our children. Beyond that I seek not to penetrate the veil. God grant that in my day, at least, that curtain may not rise. God grant that on my vision never may be opened what lies behind. When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken, dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on States dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood. Let their last feeble and

lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, not a single star obscured, bearing for its motto, no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterwards"; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart,—Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.

It is impossible to trace in a few pages the political career of Daniel Webster, interwoven, as it is, with the legislation, legal decisions, and party struggles of nearly half a century. Twice he was made Secretary of State, and during his term of office the Ashburton Treaty was concluded, which settled the northern boundary of Maine and New Hampshire and in which Maine's loss was New Hampshire's gain. The treaty was a compromise for the sake of peace. Each nation surrendered something, and hence those who claimed all were not satisfied. Mr. Webster's whole policy was one, as he thought, of honorable compromise to avoid civil and foreign war and to preserve the Union. All other matters were of secondary importance to him. After serving in President Harrison's cabinet from 1841 to 1845 he was again elected senator from Massachusetts. The great question before the nation then was the extension of slave territory and the return of fugitive slaves. Mr. Webster, in his heart, was opposed to human slavery and had spoken many winged words against it. He recognized, however, what the abolitionists were determined to overlook, that the slaveholding states had certain constitutional rights, and that moral ideals can not be reached and put into practice immediately. Much as he disliked slavery, he feared and hated civil strife and disunion more. He argued that there must be concessions, that extremists in both North and South must yield something. Compromise only could keep the peace. Hence, in his celebrated speech of the seventh of March, 1850, he seemed to recede from his former positions in defense of human rights and freedom and to yield too much to the wishes and claims of Southerners. He had said, in 1830, "I regard domestic slavery as one of the greatest evils, both moral and political," and he never changed his mind on that point; but in the seventh of

March speech he did not speak out so boldly. The speech was condemned by abolitionists for what he did not say, and he was interpreted as apologizing for an infamous institution. The thoroughgoing moralist can make no compromise with sin; on the other hand the wise, political statesman must sometimes tolerate evil for a time, till the fitting opportunity and means are at hand to crush it. The extreme abolitionists were not statesmen; they were impassioned preachers of the gospel of human freedom. With them slavery must be at once abolished, at whatever cost. We admire their moral enthusiasm; we question the wisdom of their policy.

Impartial history, if that ever is written, will concede to Daniel Webster higher motives than were assigned to him at that time. Theodore Parker, and the great poets, Lowell, Longfellow and Whittier, expressed the moral sense of New England in their denunciations of Webster's speech. The lines of Whittier have become famous; they are terrible in their scorn:

Revile him not—the Tempter hath
 A snare for all.
And pitying, not scorn and wrath,
 Befit his fall.

Oh, dumb be passion's stormy rage,
 When he who might
Have lighted up and led his age
 Falls back in night.

.
Let not the land once proud of him
 Insult him now.
Nor brand with deeper shame his dim
 Dishonored brow.

But let its humbled sons, instead,
 From sea to lake,
A long lament, as for the dead,
 In sadness make.

.
Then pay the reverence of old days
 To his dead fame;
Walk backward, with averted gaze,
 And hide the shame.

Perhaps this poem has done more than anything else to

dim the glory of America's greatest orator. The moral radiance of the reformer has outshone the intellectual splendor of the compromiser. It was said then, that Webster was influenced by his desire to become president of the United States. This office and that of minister to the court of Great Britain were the two positions to which his ambition grew to aspire. All efforts to secure even his nomination for the presidency failed. He was too independent in his utterances to be a popular leader. Like Charles Sumner, he was more of a friend to nations than to individual men. He was never, like Henry Clay, the idol of the people. His seventh of March speech, read by hundreds of thousands, made him the leader of the privileged classes rather than of the toilers. The money of Boston merchants and aristocrats pensioned him in his last years. One man in New York sent him seven thousand dollars because of that speech that damned his reputation more than all else he ever did. The fame of Webster would have been untarnished, had he died before the fatal seventh of March. The future may concede that he was wise and politic, but not that he was inflexibly righteous. The calumnies invented against his private life and the unsifted gossip about his drunkenness may be passed over as unworthy of consideration. Both have been sufficiently refuted by his biographers.

While at Marshfield, October 24, 1852, his life was ebbing away, like the flowing back of the mighty sea he so much loved, Daniel Webster aroused himself enough to say, "I still live." He wanted to maintain consciousness to the end, to go through death alive. He accomplished it; he still lives. In the annals of his country his words and deeds can never be blotted out. His native State has honored his memory by placing his statue in the commanding position in front of her State House. Dartmouth College has recognized her obligation by erecting Webster Hall. The place of his birth is public property, dedicated to patriotism by loving remembrance. His imperfections will be forgotten or interpreted so as to show good intent. His defense of the Constitution and of the Union, in masterful thought and utterance, still lives in the grateful memories of increasing millions.

Chapter V

DEATH OF THE FEDERALIST PARTY

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Effect of the Hartford Convention—Protective Tariff after the War of 1812—Administration of Governor Plumer—He Recommends Decreased Salaries—Tempest of 1815—Building of the State House—Visit of President Monroe—Governor Samuel Bell—Corporations in 1819—The Toleration Act—Condition of Banks in the State—Contest over the Proposed Admission of Missouri as a Slave State—Deaf and Dumb Sent to Hartford Asylum—Levi Woodbury's Report on Pauperism—Capital Employed in Manufactures—The Cyclone of 1821—Report on the Cause and Prevention of Crime—Internal Improvements not Authorized by the General Constitution—Levi Woodbury Chosen Governor—Sketch of Governor Woodbury—The New Hampshire Historical Society Incorporated—Revolt against the Political Machine—David L. Morrill Elected—Sketch of Governor Morrill—Visit of General Lafayette—His Speech at Concord—Defective Returns—The Aims of Republican Government—Multiplication of Academies, Libraries and Musical Societies.

THE Hartford convention was the last expiring gasp of the Federalist party, which had been moribund for a long time. It was never popular, and nobody but office-holders and the privileged classes bemoaned it. After the War of 1812 for some years there was no political competition. The Republicans had everything their own way. William Plumer was elected governor in 1816 and reelected the two years following. At his first election he had 20,338 votes, and his competitor, Hon. James Sheafe of Portsmouth, had 17,994. In his first message Governor Plumer recommended that certain industries should be freed from taxation for a time. The reason was apparent.

During the war premiums and encouragements had been offered by various States to induce capitalists to invest their money in manufactoryes. As a consequence it has been estimated that \$200,000,000 of goods were manufactured in the United States in two years. The number of cotton spindles increased ten-fold. Within thirty miles of Providence, Rhode Island, there were one hundred and forty factories, that consumed 20,000 bales of cotton, turning out products valued at

six million dollars. After the war imports flowed in rapidly. From 1814 to 1816 they rose from \$12,000,000 to \$147,000,000. Hence arose the cry for a protective tariff, and one was enacted, imposing an average duty of twenty-five per cent *ad valorem* on imports. On luxuries the duty was thirty-five per cent. Our industries were comparatively new and wages were higher here than in England. Foreign goods, stored up during the years of war, sought a market at the lowest possible figure, and our new manufactories had to be helped in order to survive the cut-throat competition. Governor Plumer pointed out that a nation could not grow strong and independent by agriculture alone; it must learn to make almost all the goods it needs. It is interesting here to note that economists are now foretelling that at the close of the present European War the American markets will be glutted with foreign goods, unless a prohibitive tariff is imposed. The lessons of one hundred years ago should be of some service for present guidance.

Governor Plumer, in his message, called attention to a growing evil. The salary of the governor had been nearly doubled and that of the justices was more than double what it had formerly been. He said, "Whenever the salaries in a republic are raised so high as to excite a spirit of avarice, and induce men to seek office from sordid motives, it has a direct tendency to extinguish public spirit, and to destroy the laudable ambition of holding office for the noble purpose of promoting the public good. It tends to multiply the number of office-seekers, increase intrigue and corruption, produce extravagance and luxury in the officers; and their influence insensibly leads others to imitate their pernicious example, till it destroys the simplicity and changes the manners and habits of the people. This is an evil pregnant with danger to a free government. It was the observation of a man, not less eminent for his talents as a statesman than his knowledge as a historian, *That high salaries are evidence of the decline of republicanism in a state.* Indeed, no government can long subsist but upon its original foundation, and by a frequent recurrence to the principles on which it was first instituted. I therefore recommend to your consideration the propriety of reducing the salaries of the governor, the justices of the supreme court, and the treasurer." Yet the salary of the chief justice was then only fifteen hundred

dollars per annum, and that of the associates was twelve hundred. We do not read that the governor's recommendation was heeded by the legislature. Public officials have been known to increase their own salaries and even draw "back pay," but to cut down the salaries of offices that some legislators hope to fill is almost an unheard of thing. The multiplication of officials and the steady increase of their salaries is one of the threatening evils of a growing State. Formerly men of education, ability and social standing did the duties of mayor, alderman, school committee and other officials gratuitously, for the honor of the position and the welfare of the community, and good governors and plenty of them could be found for three hundred dollars per year. Such men will not now accept office at enlarged salaries. Why? Because Tom, Dick and Harry want the offices at salaries greater than *they* could get in any other employment, while the men of wealth and standing and brain-power prefer to quietly devote their energies to more lucrative and useful activities. Hence there is danger that we become govrvned by the incompetent office-seeker and grafted, by those who like to be "dressed in a little brief authority." "We must pay enough to get the best men," it is said. No, the best men do not serve for money. Make the office honorable, and men will honor the office.

On the twenty-third of September, 1815, occurred a remarkable tempest of wind and rain, resembling what has since been known in the west as cyclones and blizzards. Trees were uprooted and buildings unroofed. Orchards were ruined, and many cattle were killed by falling trees. The tempest raged continuously for two hours. Up to that time nothing like it had been known in New Eengland.

In 1817 Governor Plumer had 19,088 votes and Hon. James Sheafe had 12,029, while Hon. Jeremiah Mason had 3,607. Laws were recommended for the relief of poor debtors and for avoiding litigation as much as possible. A map of the State had been made, at considerable expense, by Dr. Philip Carrigain of Concord, and the State voted large sums to assist in this work.

The building of the State House, begun in 1816, has already been briefly noticed. The lot on which it was built contained about two acres. It formerly belonged to the estate of Peter Green. On the north-east part of it stood the house of Captain Peter Robertson, which was removed to Pleasant street. The

lot was presented to the State by citizens of Concord. The chief architect of the State House was Stuart J. Park, overseer in the erection of many public buildings and also of the Lowell railroad. He was assisted by Levi Brigham. Convicts in the State prison were employed in hammering the stone, yet the governor in one message declares that the prison was not paying its way, and that the prisoners were too well fed and clothed. The expense of building the State House, including the fences and furniture, was nearly eighty-two thousand dollars of which sum the people of Concord contributed material worth four thousand dollars. It was considered the handsomest building in the State and was visited by thousands of people. A child's book of that time contained the following description: "The State House is the grandest building in New Hampshire. It is built of hewn stone, almost as beautiful as white marble. The body of the house is much higher and longer than any meeting-house you ever saw. The windows are of the largest glass, with mahogany sashes. The front of the building has a noble projection and pediment with a large elegant door; and the whole is set off with a most beautiful cupola, with a great gold eagle on the top of it. There is a very large and beautiful yard in front of the State House, with a wide and smooth gravel walk up to it. I have seen many elegant buildings in the course of my life; but I never saw one so elegant as the State House."¹ Yet that building was but two stories high, had no pillars in front, was about one-third the size of the present State house, and its picture looks about as attractive as a well built Grammar School of the present time. It has been remodelled twice since 1819. In 1820 four stoves were ordered for it to supplement the fireplaces.

In 1817 New Hampshire was honored, as were other States, by a visit of President James Monroe. From Portsmouth a company of cavalry went out to meet him and on the Plains he reviewed a regiment of infantry. National salutes were fired. A thousand school children ushered him into town. He passed under an arch of evergreen, while the band awoke the echoes. Frost's hotel entertained him and the Hon. Jeremiah Mason made an address of welcome, to which a reply was made by the

¹ Hist. of Concord, edited by James O. Lyford, p. 351.

president in fitting words. He lodged with Mr. Wentworth. On the next day, Sunday, he went to St. John's church in the forenoon and sat in the pew where George Washington sat, when he visited Portsmouth. In the afternoon he listened to the Rev. Mr. Putnam and called on Ex-Gov. John Langdon. The President visited the navy yard and the forts in the harbor and Monday evening attended a concert given by a local musical society, at Jefferson Hall.

After going as far east in Maine as Bath, the President re-entered New Hampshire and was met at the State line, probably at South Berwick, by an escort and a committee from Dover, and the Hon. Daniel M. Durell. His escort was troops from Rochester and Milton, under command of Col. Edward Sise. After a short stop at Wyatt's Hotel he went to a prepared platform, where an address of welcome was made by the Hon. William King Atkinson. The evening and night were passed with the Hon. William Hale, where many ladies and gentlemen were introduced to the President. On the eighteenth of July he proceeded to Concord. Governor Plumer was sick with a fever and wrote him a letter of regret and welcome.

He was greeted at Concord, then a town of two thousand four hundred inhabitants, by an artillery salute and companies of the militia as escort. A committee of the citizens met him on the border of the town. The Hon. Thomas W. Thompson made the address of welcome, to which the President responded. At the dinner he gave as a toast, "The town of Concord, may its inhabitants continue to flourish and prosper," a safe and decorous toast for any town. In the evening he attended a concert in the old North Church, decorated especially for the occasion, where also he worshiped on the following Sunday. His stay included a trip on a pleasure boat to Garvin's Falls and return by carriage.

President Monroe traveled by chaise and made the trip from Concord to Hanover in a day, arriving there at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, although he paused at Enfield to salute the Shaker settlement. Military officers, troops and citizens in great number had assembled to meet him. He left his chaise and rode on horseback into the town. Near the meeting house he dismounted and passed between lines extending quite across the

College Campus. There were the usual addresses, and festivities and applause. From this point the President passed over into Vermont.²

Such tours by the early Presidents, before the days of railroads, were events even greater than to-day. They represented much hardship of travel and a desire to learn the condition of the people and their needs. The presidential visit was not mainly a political advertisement. Citizens of all shades of opinion united in doing honor to the nation's Chief.

At the State election of 1819 the Hon. Samuel Bell received 13,761 votes and the Hon. William Hale had 8,660, with over one thousand scattering. Samuel Bell, born in Londonderry February 9, 1770, was grandson of John Bell, who was one of the Scotch-Irish that settled that town. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1793 and after studying law with Samuel Dana at Amherst he began to practise at Francestown, whence he removed to Chester. He was speaker of the house of representatives in 1808 and was made a judge of the State supreme court in 1816, holding that office for three years. He was governor of the State from 1819 to 1823. At the end of that period he was elected to the United States senate, where he remained till 1835. In January, 1833, both house and senate of New Hampshire, by a large majority, voted to request him to resign his office as senator, since he no longer represented the views and wishes of those who elected him. He died in Chester December 23, 1850. He served as trustee of Dartmouth College, and Bowdoin College gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Five sons of his attained some degree of eminence, and the Bell family ranks with the old Wentworth family in political and social leadership.

A report made to the legislature in 1819 shows briefly the progress made in the State, as indicated by the corporations created since the year 1776. These were twenty-two academies, five agricultural societies, ten banking companies, fifty-three bridge societies, eighteen canal companies, eight engine companies, four insurance companies, one hundred and sixty-one libraries, five masonic lodges, twenty-eight manufactories of

² Condensed from "The Tour of James Monroe," by S. Putnam Waldo, Hartford, 1818.

cotton and woolen goods, ten manufactories of other articles, twenty-seven musical societies, ninety-five societies of a religious nature, fifty-two turnpike road societies, and thirty-nine societies of various kinds, not classed, making a total of five hundred and forty-seven corporations. These indicate much activity, religious, educational, social and industrious. The amount of untaxed property represented by these corporations, chiefly educational institutions and manufactories, was \$1,112,333, and much more had been exempted from taxation for a term of years.³

During this year was completed what has been called the Toleration Act. From the beginning of colonial existence towns had been taxed for building meeting houses and supporting ministers of the Congregational denomination, and everybody was required by law to go to meeting on Sunday. Some exceptions were allowed, in the case of Quakers and later of Baptists. Now many were getting tired of paying taxes for what they did not want, and there was a demand for religious corporations known as poll parishes. The Reverend Dan Young of Lisbon, Methodist local preacher and member of the senate for five years, persistently labored for religious freedom and proposed bills repealing the old laws and allowing voluntary associations to build meeting houses and settle ministers of their own choice. His proposals were defeated for the first three years, but gained gradually in supporters, till, in 1819, a bill presented by Dr. Thomas Whipple of Wentworth, passed into a legisaltive act, in the first session held in the new State House. Henceforth religion was free and the conscience of the individual, that is, his enlightened or unenlightened reason, determined what kind he would have and how much he should pay for it. Ever since many have wanted little and have paid nothing, but the genuinely religious have paid so much more than they ever paid before, that the various denominations have built too many meeting houses and too poorly supported their ministers in many cases, though the ministerial salaries on the whole have been better since the Toleration Act than they were before. All kinds of voluntary religion are better than one State-regulated kind; indeed, unless religion is the voluntary

³ House Journal for 1819, pp. 79-81.

choice of the individual, it is a misnomer. Still some of the nations of Europe are struggling with the problem of State-religion, loth to learn from the successful experiments of American States.

In the election of 1820 Governor Bell had scarcely any opposition, receiving 22,212 votes out of the 24,771 cast. David L. Morrill and William Hale had each nearly six hundred votes. In his message to the House Governor Bell called attention to the evils of intemperance and urged that the sale of intoxicating liquors be checked, the first time anything of this sort had been given such prominence.

The condition of the banks incorporated in the State was reported to the legislature. They were the Cheshire Bank, at Keene, two banks at Concord, the Coos Bank at Haverhill, the Exeter Bank, the New Hampshire Bank at Portsmouth, the New Hampshire Union Bank of the same place, the Portsmouth Bank, the Rockingham Bank at Portsmouth, the New Hampshire at Portsmouth and the Strafford Bank at Dover. All were found to be solvent, except the New Hampshire Bank at Portsmouth. The amount of the capital stock of the ten banks was \$939,936. At this time an effort was being made to restrict United States Banks to the District of Columbia, and the State of Pennsylvania was sending a proposed amendment to the Constitution to the several States for their endorsement, favoring such restriction. The New Hampshire legislature voted against the proposal.⁴

The legislature of 1820 received a long communication from the Virginia Assembly, arguing for the admission of Missouri as a slave-holding State, basing their argument on the Constitution and the Purchase of Louisiana. The reply of New Hampshire shows that then the opposition to slavery was growing intense. Both arguments are subtle and ably stated. That of New Hampshire, written by Hon. Jeremiah Mason, says that "slavery is prohibited by the immutable law of nature, which is obligatory as well on States as individuals. The establishing or permitting slavery by a State being thus morally wrong, the right to do it, instead of being essential to its sovereignty, cannot exist; except only in cases where slavery having been

⁴ House Journal for 1820, pp. 107, 172, 323.

already introduced cannot be suddenly abolished without great danger to the community. Under such circumstances it must of necessity be tolerated for a time as the sole means of self-preservation. This painful necessity may justify the temporary continuance of slavery in certain States of the Union, where it now exists. But in the opinion of the Committee nothing can justify the unnecessary extension of this great evil to newly formed States. . . . The toleration of slavery in a portion of our common country has long furnished matter of reproach on our national character. Strong hopes were entertained, that instead of the zeal now shown for enlarging the sphere of its baneful operation, suitable measures would have been adopted for its gradual abolition. Congress, having the power, is bound by considerations of justice and humanity and by regard to the general welfare of the nation, to prevent the further extension of the evil." Therefore the Senate and House resolved "that the Congress of the United States has by the Constitution the right, in admitting new States into the Union, to prescribe the prohibition of slavery, as one of the conditions, on which such State shall be admitted, . . . and that in the opinion of this Legislature the existence of slavery within the United States is a great moral as well as political evil, the toleration of which can be justified by necessity alone, and that the further extension of it ought to be prevented by the due exercise of the power vested in the General Government."⁵

A committee appointed to inquire into the number and circumstances of the deaf and dumb in the State reported that forty-seven had been found, and that the asylum for such persons at Hartford, Connecticut, would receive inmates at an expense of two hundred dollars each year. Later the legislature voted an appropriation of one thousand dollars, to be used at the discretion of the governor, in paying expenses of selected persons at the aforesaid institution. Nine young persons were selected by the governor, and a like amount was appropriated the following year. This policy continued for many years, the appropriation and number of students increasing.

There was scarcely any opposition to the re-election of Governor Bell in 1821. He had 22,582 votes and there were

⁵ Journal of the House for 1820, pp. 41-71, 153-169.

1,866 scattering. His messages are fine illustrations of "glittering generalities" but contain little that can be woven into history. During the year there was a notable report, written probably by Levi Woodbury, on the Pauper Laws of the State, in which the system employed in treatment of paupers by other States and in England is discussed. The expense for the support of paupers in New Hampshire in 1800 was about seventeen thousand dollars, and there was one pauper to three hundred and thirty inhabitants. This sum does not include incidental and legal cost. In the year 1820 the expense had increased to eighty thousand dollars, and there was one pauper to one hundred inhabitants. Massachusetts then had a pauper to sixty-six inhabitants and in England one inhabitant in every five was a pauper. Increase in poverty far outstripped increase in population, and when once a State or nation assumes the responsibility of clothing and feeding and sheltering all its inhabitants, an ever increasing multitude claims such support. England had "three millions of famished beggars, fed from the hand of public charity," and their annual expense was \$44,000,000. The committee suggested some relief to the State by excluding from the beneficiaries those reduced to poverty by indolence, extravagance and crime, whose ranks are filled from the haunts of intemperance, but the committee does not tell what should be done with such paupers. Must they be left to steal or starve? The problem has not yet been fully solved. The poor we have always with us, and the strong must bear the infirmities of the weak, but it is a great moral injury to help even weak people too much. It destroys self-reliance and self-respect.

Another report shows the extent of manufactures and that twelve manufacturing companies were exempted from taxation, some for five years and some for ten. They were authorized together to hold property to the value of \$678,000. Of this amount \$533,000 were invested in Nail and Iron Factories, \$25,000 in Glass, and \$120,000 principally in Cotton. The largest corporation was the New Hampshire Iron Factory Company with a valuation of \$263,000. Next came the Haverhill and Franconia Iron Factory with a capital stock of \$250,000.

New Hampshire had its cyclone on the ninth of September, 1821, the like of which has not been seen since, except in the

western States. It is said to have been felt near Lake Champlain, but had little destructive force till it reached Cornish and Croydon. It passed over the towns of Sunapee, New London, Sutton and Warner to the edge of Boscowen,—a huge, whirling, inverted cone, dark, filled with debris and emitting flashes of lightning. It swept away buildings, forests and huge rocks, destroying much property and several lives. Some objects were carried thirty miles. Lake Sunapee was lowered three feet, its waters being drawn up into the whirling mass, while boards, timbers and debris were hurled into the lake. Such phenomena have gone west. New Hampshire can spare them better than she can her many sons who have gone there.⁶

The re-election of Governor Bell in 1823 was without any appreciable opposition, since he received 22,934 votes out of a total of 23,980. Indeed, there were no political parties at this time and it has been called "the Era of Good Feeling." The Federalists had ceased to exist and no party had arisen to take its place. During this year there was a legislative act to establish a literary fund, to be collected by taxing the banks, and the fund so gathered was \$4,770.37. The aim was to gradually secure funds sufficient to establish a State University, but in 1828 it was voted to distribute the fund then accrued among the common schools of the state, and thereafter the literary fund was annually distributed.

There was a notable report, signed by Eastwick Evans as chairman of a committee on the cause and prevention of crime. Most of it was traced to ignorance, idleness, intemperance and extravagance in living. It was argued that private flogging in the State prison would be one of the best deterrents of crime, establishing a dreaded punishment in the minds of the tempted. The wisdom of this recommendation has been questioned. Certainty of detection was also urged and the punishment of minor offenses, so that violation of law might be nipped in the bud.

The legislature also voted, that "the Constitution of the United States has not vested in Congress the right to adopt and execute, at the national expense, a system of internal improvements," and that "it is not expedient so to amend the Constitu-

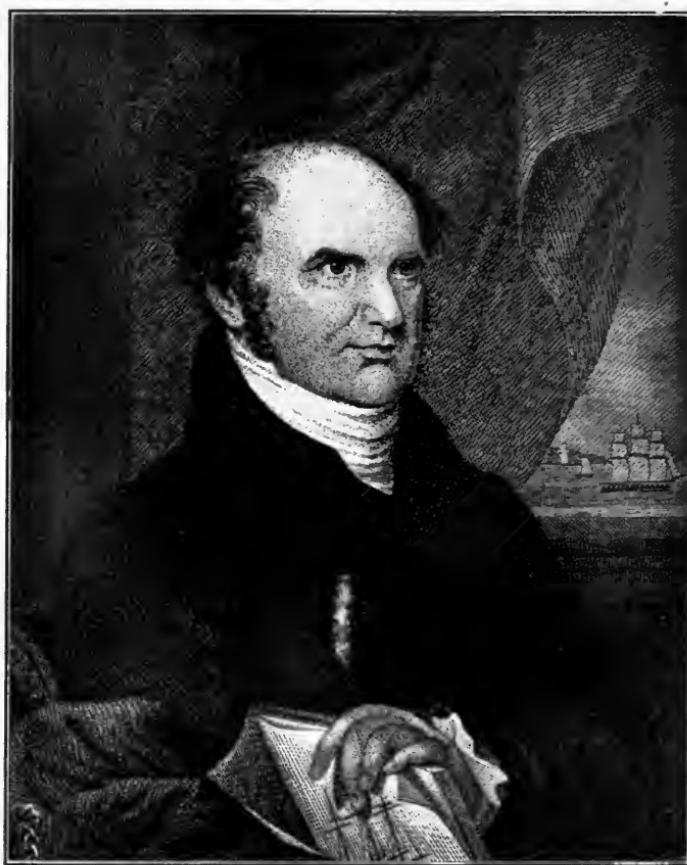
⁶For full and minute description of this tornado see *The Great Tornado of 1821 in New Hampshire*, by Fred W. Lamb.

tion of the United States as to give the power to Congress to make roads, bridges and canals." Such improvements, it was thought, should be made by the States, separately, or by corporations created by State authority.

In consequence of the election of Governor Bell to the United States senate a new candidate for governor was sought in 1823. The choice fell on Levi Woodbury and he was elected by a vote of 16,985. He was the son of Peter Woodbury of Francestown, where he was born December 22, 1789. He was educated at Atkinson Academy and Dartmouth College, where he graduated in 1809. He studied law with Judge Jeremiah Smith and in the Litchfield Law School, Connecticut. In 1816 he was clerk of the New Hampshire senate. He was appointed associate judge of the Superior Court by Governor Plumer, in spite of his youth, since that astute person could tell a diamond before it was fully polished. It is said that Mr. Woodbury long retained the power to work sixteen hours a day. He served as judge six years before his election as governor. He was speaker of the House in his native State in 1825 and was chosen United States senator the same year. In 1831 he became Secretary of the Navy for three years and then was Secretary of the Treasury for seven years. In 1841 he was again elected to the senate where he remained four years. He declined to be ambassador to the court of St. James. He was associate judge of the supreme court of the United States from 1845 till the time of his death, in 1851, at the age of sixty-one years. He was a diligent student rather than a brilliant orator. He won his way to prominence by hard work and sound common sense. Dartmouth college and Wesleyan University gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws. He was talked of as a candidate for the presidency of the United States, and but for unexpected death might have attained that high position. He had the judicial mind and temperament and was of unblemished character, an ornament to the history of his State.⁷

His message to the legislature states that the annual surplus produce of agriculture in the State amounted to nearly a million dollars and he urges that the State ought to raise all its food and the necessaries of life. He recommends an agricultural

⁷ Bench and Bar, by Charles H. Bell.



Louis Woodbury

survey of the State, that the chemical composition of its soils might be learned and the fitness of certain localities for different crops. The State ought to grow more wool. He recommends an exhibit in Concord of the State's productions and an increase of the State Library.

Merrimack county was formed this year from parts of Rockingham and Hillsborough counties, and the New Hampshire Historical Society was incorporated, an institution that has steadily grown in usefulness. Its Constitution declares that "the objects of the Society shall be to discover, procure and preserve whatever may relate to the natural, civil, ecclesiastical and literary history of the United States in general, and of this State in particular." Its first president was William Plumer, and among early members were numbered such men as Jeremiah Mason, Levi Woodbury, Ichabod Bartlett, John Farmer and Jacob B. Moore.

Levi Woodbury had been elected governor by a revolt within the Republican party. The political machine got out of gear. The Republican members of the legislature had nominated in June, 1822, the Hon. Samuel Dinsmoor of Keene, for the next governor. The slate had been made up by self-constituted managers of the party, and of course the dear people were expected to vote accordingly, but there were then, as now, some independent voters and some other would-be leaders in the vicinity of Portsmouth. "An irregularly constituted assemblage of people," during a term of court in Portsmouth, nominated Judge Woodbury for governor, and he received the support of William Plumer of Epping and other prominent men of the party. The disbanded Federalists flocked to the standard of the revolters, glad to do almost anything that would beat the "regular" candidate, supported as he was by the newspaper they disliked so heartily, the *New Hampshire Patriot*, bristling with the pungent ideas of Isaac Hill. But it takes diamond to cut diamond, and it takes one political machine to defeat another for any considerable time. An unorganized revolt of one year, led by a favorite candidate, is sure to subside, and the old party that holds together returns to power soon. The managers have always seen this, and so they keep right on in the old ruts, modifying their platform in words, but retaining the same spirit and

policy. The leopard does not change its spots easily. In 1824 Levi Woodbury was again the candidate of the come-outers, and he was supported by a newspaper then established at Concord, *The New Hampshire Statesman*, the outgrowth of a feud among local politicians, for the Northenders and the Southenders, or "Parliament Corner" politicians, were at loggerheads in Concord. David L. Morril became the nominee of the old Republican guard, and the election contest was a spirited one, to see which faction of the sole political party should win out. There was no principle at stake; it was a contest between men who held similar political views, to determine who should rule, not what should rule. David L. Morril had 14,899 votes, Levi Woodbury had 11,741, and there were 3,798 scattering. Hence no election. The legislature had to decide, and David L. Morril was elected governor. He proved to be so acceptable that the following year out of 30,770 votes for governor he had 30,167.

David Lawrence Morril was governor for three years. He was born at Epping June 10, 1772, son and grandson of Congregationalist ministers. He was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy and began the practice of medicine in Epsom in 1793. In the year 1800 he turned to theology and was pastor of a Presbyterian and Congregational church in Goffstown from 1802 to 1811, when he was dismissed on account of ill health. Meanwhile he represented Goffstown in the legislature and continued to do so till 1817, practising medicine to some extent even so late as 1830. He was Speaker of the House in 1816, and the same year was elected United States Senator, as an Adams Democrat, a new name appearing in politics. He served till 1823, and in that year he appears as president of the State senate. In 1831 he removed to Concord and was connected with a company that published the Scriptures and was editor of a religious journal, called the *New Hampshire Observer*. He was vice president of the American Bible Society, of the American Sunday School Union, and of the American Home Missionary Society. The University of Vermont gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws. He died in Concord January 28, 1848, highly respected for his character and abilities.

In 1825 the State was honored with a visit of General Lafayette. He made a flying trip to Portsmouth first, from Bos-

ton, and was received by the civil and military officers, companies of troops, groups of school children and some old acquaintances. There was music and artillery salutes, banquets and festivals. A second visit he made a little later, entering the State at Methuen, visiting a ladies' school at Derry, stopping a night at Pembroke, calling on Major Caleb Stark, son of the revolutionary general, John Stark, who had been companion in arms with the Marquis, and arriving in Concord June 22nd. The legislature sent a coach and six to bring him into town. Twenty military companies escorted him from the town line. After parading the main streets the formal reception by officials was in the hall of the representatives, in the State House. Two hundred and ten old revolutionary soldiers, headed by General Benjamin Pierce, were assembled to see and hear the friend of American liberty. He was introduced to each one of them, and then he addressed to them a few words which drew tears from all eyes. He was entertained by Colonel William A. Kent. A public dinner was spread in the State House yard, principally for the benefit of the revolutionary soldiers, after which there were toasts and speeches. The bell of North church rang, and cannons peeled, and everybody shouted and sang. There was an illumination in the evening and grand levee in the State House yard.

From Concord Lafayette went to Dover, by way of Northwood and Durham, along the first turnpike road. Tradition is, that he stopped at the McCleary mansion in Epsom. At Dover he was entertained by the Hon. William Hale, and like festivities occurred. Indeed, all along his route young and old flocked to see the man for whose sympathy and aid this country has always felt grateful. It is needless to relate particulars. The reception in every town where he lodged was the best and most elaborate that could be offered. From Dover he made a trip into Maine, and then returned to Concord over the same road he had traveled in leaving that place, stopping one night in Northwood. On the 27th of June a coach and six horses took him out of Concord, through Hopkinton, Warner and Claremont, to Vermont. No president, no foreign visitor, has ever been so cordially and enthusiastically received in the Granite State. Gratitude, thrilling memories and patriotism united to

do him honor. The legislature authorized the governor to expend any sum not exceeding three thousand dollars in the entertainment and honor of the State's distinguished guest.

In the address by the governor to General Lafayette, made in the Representatives' Hall, allusion was made to Generals Washington, Sullivan and Stark, to which Lafayette replied in words that deserve to be remembered:—

One of my earliest enjoyments, on this happy return to the American shore, has been to meet the welcome of the people of New Hampshire, in the Atlantic town, to which I was already bound by very ancient and gratifying connexions. I have since visited an extensive part of the vast republican confederacy, which are held, to the admiration and may it be to the speedy imitation of the world, a practical demonstration, and the wonderful result of national independence, popular institutions, and self-government. But as soon as under the impression of those lately witnessed wonders and blessings, I had performed on the great Bunker Hill celebration a sacred and delightful duty, I have hastened to this seat of government, where I now enjoy the honor to be admitted to present both branches of the Legislature, the judiciary and executive authorities of the State, and you, Sir, their honored Chief Magistrate, with a tribute of my lively and respectful gratitude. Here, also, I am to delight in the great improvements that have taken place in the anticipation of those which are zealously contemplated. Here I have been greeted by multitudes of friends, from this and other parts of the State; among whom I am not surprised to recognize many of my companions in arms. When I recollect in what comparative proportion New Hampshire has personally contributed to our revolutionary struggle; I thank your Excellency for your flattering and kind remembrance of past times. None of them is more gratifying to me than your mention of names most dear to my heart.

Permit me to offer to you, to the Representatives and officers of the State in every branch, and to the people of New Hampshire, the devoted tender of my grateful, affectionate, and profound respect.⁸

When, in 1834, news was received of the death of General Lafayette, resolutions of sympathy with his family were unanimously adopted and a person was appointed to pronounce a eulogy at the next session of the legislature. A part of the report of the committee was as follows:—

That they regard with profound veneration the man who voluntarily relinquished a life of ease, and the enjoyments which wealth and rank could afford him, to aid the cause of an infant people, engaged in the doubtful struggle for the rights of man—Who abandoned the refinements of an European court and the comforts of a tranquil home, to encounter the rude hard-

⁸ House Journal for 1825, p. 256.

ships, dangers and privations of an American camp—Who contributed his blood and treasures in the defense of a people, only known to him by their prowess in the war which wrested from France her possessions in America; and when the object of that contest was accomplished, was next to be found assisting in the mightier struggle of his own country and with the same motives—Who, when those convulsions had subsided in the creation of a despotism which wielded the destinies of the Globe and mocked the calculations of human power and human wisdom, retired before the torrent he could no longer withstand—Who, when that splendid but terrific prodigy had fallen under the gigantic effort of its own ambition, was found at the head of his country's councils, and again advocating the rights of Freemen. That they regard such a man as worthy of being associated with that host of heroes who fought in the foremost ranks of American patriotism, and whose achievements stand alone upon the page of History.⁹

In the governor's message, at the June session of the Legislature, he called attention to a remarkable fact, that many of the voters were deprived of the right of suffrage through the ignorance and neglect of officials; that in the returns of votes at the last election of Representatives to Congress "five were informal, seven unconstitutional, twenty-five out of season, sixty-two illegal, making ninety-nine inadmissible returns, besides which twenty-three towns made no returns." Thus fully half the State was disfranchised. The letter of the law was regarded rather than the intention of the voters, and slight errors of officials were allowed to override the expressed will of half of the State. We are reminded of an effort once made by a minority in the State of Maine to count out the majority, by a skillful manipulation of defective returns, and they had the short ballot in both these cases. Red tape should give way to the will of the people, even if the latter is bunglingly expressed, and more breadth and simplicity in laws would avoid many errors. A law that can not be easily understood and applied is not well conceived and written.

Governor Morril, in the same message, well set forth the aims of republican government:—

It must be well understood that my political creed is republican. Of course my great objects will be, as far as my agency and influence can extend, to secure the freedom of elections, the liberty of speech, of the press, and of religion, to protect the rights of the citizens, to aid the progress of internal improvements, to provide for the general dissemination of knowl-

⁹ Journal of the House, June 25, 1834.

edge, to promote by all proper regulations the prosperity of agriculture, commerce and manufactures, to render the administration of justice prompt and equal, to establish an efficient militia, to encourage those arts and sciences which dignify mankind and smooth the course of life, to maintain state sovereignty, and at the same time to render due respect and fidelity to the federal government, and cherish that morality and religion which are an ornament to human nature and the only immutable basis on which republics are founded.

These words are worthy of the study of all governors of States, and law-makers should bear them in mind.

In reading the journals of the House and Senate of this period one is struck by the number of incorporations of academies, social libraries and musical societies. Almost all the populous towns had these educative and social institutions, and they aided greatly in the intellectual and moral development of the entire people. A few good books in circulation and a weekly singing-school have elevated many a country community.

Chapter VI

RECONSTRUCTION OF POLITICAL PARTIES

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Strict and Liberal Constructions of the Constitution—Governor Benjamin Pierce—Governor Samuel Bell—Benjamin Pierce again Governor—He Lays Stress on Farming in New Hampshire—Granite Sent to the South—Governor Matthew Harvey—Imprisonment for Debt—The State Prison Overcrowded—Joseph M. Harper Fills out the Term of Governor—Governor Samuel Dinsmoor—He Calls Attention to the Condition of the Insane—Report of Committee on Insanity—Visit of President Andrew Jackson—Decline of Interest in the Militia—Governor William Badger—The Jacksonian Democrats Vote to Recall Senator Samuel Bell—Governor Isaac Hill—His Long and Able Messages—Criticism of United States Senate—Government Costs too Much—Principles of Banking ably Set Forth—Surplus Revenue Distributed—Can a Pension Agent Be also the Governor of a State?

THE period of national history to which we have come might be called that of reconstruction of political parties. After the War of 1812 there was no great issue on which parties could divide. The Federalists disbanded. The original Republican party began to stir up differences of opinion among themselves, helped by discordant Federalists who had joined their ranks. Some would construe the national Constitution strictly and lay stress on the sovereign rights of the States, and these gradually received the name Democrats; others favored a more liberal interpretation of the Constitution and larger powers for Congress, and these were known as the National Republicans and later Whigs. The brethren no longer dwelt together in unity. The era of good feeling was passing away. Elections grew to be more in doubt. It seems to have been a custom ere this to give each governor at least three terms of office, and elections were annual. Now we come to the time when a governor was elected one year, to be defeated the next year and to be again elected the third year.

This governor was Benjamin Pierce, elected in 1827. He was born at Chelmsford, Massachusetts, December 25, 1757. He was ploughing in the field when the news of Lexington

reached him, then eighteen years of age. He hitched his oxen to a stump and started with his uncle's gun for Cambridge. He was present at the battle of Bunker Hill and continued in active service throughout the war. Thereafter he took a leading part in the training of the militia of New Hampshire and rose to the rank of brigadier-general. At the close of the revolutionary war he was a captain, and was on the staff of General Washington. In 1786 he settled in Hillsborough and cleared a farm. In 1798 he refused a commission as colonel in the regular army. He was a man of commanding voice and presence, an excellent drill officer of troops. He was high sheriff of his county from 1809 to 1814, and again from 1818 to 1823. For ten years he was one of the governor's councilors. While sheriff at one time he paid the debts of three poor men who had been cast into prison, one of whom had been a revolutionary soldier, and left it to the generosity of the people to reimburse him. This was the only way at that time to secure the release from jail of a man who was unable to pay his debts. Governor Pierce was a strong admirer of President Andrew Jackson and became the head of the Democratic party in New Hampshire. In varied capacity he was in public service over fifty years and carried on farming at the same time. His education was gained by reading and in the great school of life. His messages are brief and practical. He died at his home in Hillsborough April 1, 1839. At that time his son, afterward President Franklin Pierce, was a senator at Washington. In response to a letter asking whether he should come home to see his father in his last sickness the father advised him to stay at the post of duty, saying that his own death was only a circumstance of little importance compared with the management of national affairs in congress. Governor Pierce is said to have been one of the most popular chief magistrates the State has ever had.

In the election of 1828 Benjamin Pierce had 18,672 votes and John Bell had 21,149 and was elected. He was a brother of a previous governor, Samuel Bell, and a subsequent governor, Charles H. Bell, was his son. He was born at Londonderry, July 20, 1765. He became a merchant engaged in Canadian trade and amassed considerable wealth. He represented Londonderry in the legislature one year and thereafter removed to

Chester, where he continued to make his home till his death, in 1836. He was State senator one term and served five years on the governor's council. He was sheriff of Rockingham county, 1823-6. The reason of a split in the one party of New Hampshire lay in the preference of some for Andrew Jackson and of others for John Quincy Adams for President of the United States. The oppositions centered about men rather than principles. Governor Pierce was a Jackson Democrat and Governor Bell was an Adams Democrat, and the strife between their followers was all the more bitter because neither faction had anything worth quarreling about. Governor Bell held office one year. He is described as just, diligent, sagacious and conscientious. In his message to the legislature we find the first suggestion of a purchase of a tract of land, in the central part of the State, "for an experimental farm and agricultural school, to be placed under the care and management of an intelligent and practical farmer, aided by a person capable of instructing youth in all those branches of science, which are more immediately connected with agricultural pursuits." It was further suggested that towns send youths there, selected for their proficiency, to study the theory of agriculture and to work a part of the time in actual farming. It was a long time before New Hampshire adopted the suggestion of Governor Bell and established a school of agriculture. New ideas have to germinate a long time before they take root in the public mind and grow to fruitage.

The political contest was revived in 1829, and this time Benjamin Pierce triumphed over Governor Bell by a vote of 22,615 to 19,583. Heretofore there had been a June session of the legislature and another in November. Henceforward for some years there was only a June session, except every fourth year. The reason of the extra session was twofold, (1) that it might be time to make a new valuation of estates within the State, required by the Constitution once in five years and as much oftener as the General Court should order, (2) to supply any vacancy that might occur in the board of electors of president and vice-president of the United States. The people seemed to be waking up to the idea, that the State did not need so much legislative talk and that it already had almost enough of law.

The new governor, in his message, called attention to changing conditions. "The price of bread-stuffs in different sections of the country having been equalized in consequence of the grand works of internal improvement in the West, our farmers, and indeed every class of the community are becoming daily more sensible of the necessity of increasing by every possible method our facilities of transportation." New Hampshire was beginning to rely upon the West for a supply of wheat and corn, She had to find something to give in exchange. Hence she began to develop mines and quarries. Rattlesnake Hill, in Concord, was even then sending its white granite into the South, and that source of revenue has continued down to the present, the Congressional Library at Washington being one of the more recent and most beautiful illustrations of what New Hampshire quarries can furnish to the nation. She has an inexhaustible supply of granite of various hues. Governor Pierce reminded the farmers that they should not expect to accumulate wealth and at the same time "support the style of modern days." They were consuming too many foreign articles and he advised a return to republican simplicity. If such a caution was needed nearly a hundred years ago, how much more now. It is the cost of high living that makes farming in New Hampshire unremunerative. Those who are willing to live somewhat as the first settlers had to live gradually become independent and enjoy in old age the fruits of early self-denial. At some not very distant time the slopes of New Hampshire's hills will be intensely cultivated, and her low grounds will be drained, and agriculture, especially orcharding, will again flourish here. Her water power, when fully improved, will create larger cities and villages and thus furnish a home market for much of her farm products. Benjamin Pierce saw this in his time and spoke of the immediate needs of the State as bearing upon her future welfare. The far-sighted statesman is not immediately appreciated, and his advice is passed along to distant generations. When they have heeded it with beneficial results they build a monument to the forgotten sage. Read Benjamin Pierce's message to the legislature of 1829; the advice is about as good now as it was then.

At this time an attempt was made to amend the Constitution of the United States, so as to elect the President for a term

of six years and make him ineligible afterwards. New Hampshire voted against the proposed amendment.

Up to this time the State had been giving bounties for killing crows, wolves, bears and wildcats.

The election of 1830 resulted in the choice of Matthew Harvey for governor, who had 23214 votes. His opponent, Timothy Upham, had 19,040 votes. Matthew Harvey was born at Sutton, June 21, 1781, descended from William Harvey, who was of Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1639. He was fitted for college by the Rev. Samuel Wood of Boscawen and graduated at Dartmouth in 1806. He read law with John Harris of Hopkinton and begun practice there in 1809. That town was represented by him in the legislature from 1814 to 1820, and he was Speaker of the House for the last three years of his term of service. He was representative to congress in 1821-5 and then three years in the State senate, acting as its president a part of the time. After serving three years on the governor's council he was chosen governor and during his term of office he resigned in order to accept the position of judge of the United States court. He removed to Concord, where he died in 1866. He was a man of upright, religious character, and his message shows him to have been a man of broad views. It will be useful to recall a few things he said to the legislature.

He pointed out more clearly than anybody before him the evils of imprisonment for debt. Ameliorating laws had constructively made the gaol limits the same as those of the town in which the poor prisoner was confined. The whole town was the gaol-yard. No such prisoner ever calculated to pay his debts, and nothing was accomplished by such imprisonment. Such terrors of law did not act as a deterrent from similar offenses, and often a poor man was imprisoned for no fault of his own, but simply for his misfortune. Others put their property into the hands of friends and then took the poor debtor's oath. Governor Harvey advised the abolition of the law of imprisonment for debt. Its operation was harmful to the debtor and to society. Public sympathy was always with the man imprisoned, with "the under dog in the fight."

In this connection the governor called attention to the fact that the State prison was so crowded that two criminals had to

sleep in one small cell, and the cells were so situated that conversation from one to another could be carried on by night. This furnished opportunity for the prison to become a school of crime. "The hardened and experienced villain communicates to the young and less guilty than himself his contaminating precepts and an account of his fraudulent achievements, and while they suffer for crimes already committed, they too frequently prepare themselves for more extensive and successful depredations upon the property and peace of society, after their term of confinement has expired." Modern reformers may see that their principal argument is not absolutely original. The evil has been known ever since prisons were built, but the aim of prisons until recently has not been to make a good citizen out of the convict, but to make him suffer, so that others will beware, or sometimes to take vengeance upon him for his misdeeds. Theory and practice are changing. Is there danger that the feeling of pity will outrun the demand for justice?

Governor Harvey also recommended that when a prisoner was discharged a small sum of money should be given him, on which to start a new life. "A more miserable and hopeless condition for a free man can hardly be conceived, than to be turned out suddenly upon the world, without money, or credit, or friends, and with a consciousness that he bears upon him the marks of infamy. . . . Crimes are again committed, as opportunity occurs, and justified by them, on the principle of imperious necessity." Is there anything new under the sun? We seem to be listening to the voice of some present day reformer. Give Governor Harvey his due.

His unexpired term of office was filled out by the then president of the senate, Joseph Morril Harper, physician, born at Limerick, Maine, June 21, 1789, though his parents were of New Hampshire. He served in congress from 1831 to 1835 as a supporter of President Jackson. Afterward he resided on his farm in Canterbury, yet acted as president of an insurance company and as president of Mechanics' Bank, Concord. He had been a surgeon in the regular army in the War of 1812, serving three years. In later life he frequently lectured on temperance. He died January 13, 1865. A son, Charles Augustus Harper, graduated at Dartmouth, practised law in Virginia, removed to

Texas and was colonel of a regiment of Texan rangers in the Mexican War.

In the election of 1831 Samuel Dinsmoor of Keene was chosen governor by 23,503 votes against 18,681 votes for Ichabod Bartlett. Governor Dinsmoor's ancestor was of the Scotch company from the north of Ireland who settled Londonderry. He was born in Windham, July 1, 1766, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1789. He settled in Keene as a lawyer and became specially interested in military matters, organized the Keene light infantry, one of the best drilled and equipped corps of the State militia, and rose to the rank of major-general. He held a seat in congress from 1811 to 1813. Later he was judge of probate and one of the governor's council. In 1822 the Democrats nominated him for governor, but he was defeated by Levi Woodbury. He held the gubernatorial office for three successive years from 1831, and died in March, 1835.

Samuel Dinsmoor was the first governor to call attention of the legislature to the condition of the insane and to advocate a hospital for their benefit. His message on this topic was reinforced by an address delivered before the legislative body by Dr. William Perry of Exeter, and a special committee made investigation and reported in favor of a State Asylum, yet it was ten years before such an institution was opened for the recovery and kind treatment of a large class of people specially afflicted. Indeed, it has been more recently maintained that one person in ten is more or less insane and that every person is insane one-tenth of the time.¹ Temporary pressure of labor, care, grief, disappointment, or sickness may unbalance the mind, and unwise treatment may lead to confirmed insanity. It has been proved that the great majority of insane persons can be restored to health, if wise treatment is begun in season. The special committee, in 1832, reported that about two hundred insane persons had been found in New Hampshire, half of them town paupers, and that this did not represent the whole number of afflicted ones. The condition of many of them was extremely deplorable and would excite the pity of the most hard-hearted. The newspapers throughout the State took up the subject and awoke pub-

¹ The Psychic Factor, by President Van Norden of Colgate University.

lic opinion in favor of compassionate and rational treatment. The committee reported:

Many, laboring under an inoffensive hallucination of mind, wander about, the sport of unthinking boys and unprincipled men. A large proportion, seventy-six, are reported to be in close confinement. Some of them in chains, or in cages made for their confinements; some are in the out-buildings, garrets, or cellars of private houses; some are in our county gaols, shut up with felons and criminals of every description; some are in alms houses, in brick cells, "never warmed by fire or lighted by the rays of the sun." The facts presented to the committee not only exhibit severe, unnecessary suffering, but utter neglect, and in many cases actual barbarity.

. . . An insane woman who had wandered from her friends was confined in one of our gaols in winter and without fire. From the severity of the cold and her fixed posture her feet became so much diseased that it was considered necessary to amputate them at the ankle; which was accordingly done, and the woman was afterwards restored to her friends in this mutilated condition. Another woman was confined in a garret, where from the lowness of the roof and her consequently constrained position she grew double, and is now obliged to walk with her hands as well as feet on the floor. A man was confined for years in a cellar, nearly naked, with a bed of wet straw. . . . The accounts submitted exhibit a mass of extreme, unmitigated suffering from the details of which humanity revolts. This state of things has been permitted to exist merely because it was unknown. In the extremity of the disease the maniac is withdrawn from observation. He is placed out of sight and forgotten.

Thus for ages the insane had been treated worse than any criminal, besides being blamed in many countries and communities as under the curse of God and possessed by the devil. We now wonder that it took so many centuries to arouse human sympathies and scatter intelligence sufficient to wipe out this blot upon civilization. In the treatment of the insane for a long time the authorities seem to have been more bereft of reason than the maniacs themselves.

A circumstance which aroused many to a sense of the State's need of an asylum for the insane about this time was the conviction and execution for murder of a feeble-minded youth of eighteen for a crime committed. Many believed him irresponsible.

In 1833 President Andrew Jackson visited New Hampshire by invitation of the legislature. The celebration at Concord was on the twenty-eighth of June, and a vast multitude gathered to show their admiration for the man, or to satisfy their curiosity. The president was accompanied by the vice-president, Martin

Van Buren, the Hon. Lewis Gass, Secretary of War and a native of Exeter, the Hon. Levi Woodbury, then Secretary of the Navy, and Major Donaldson as private secretary. The party was met in Bow by a cavalcade. Eight companies of the militia formed the escort, the entire body commanded by Colonel Stephen Peabody of Milford. The president rode into town on horseback and was entertained at the Eagle Hotel. He reviewed the troops on State street and there was a grand reception in the Representatives' Hall. President Jackson remained over Sunday, attending church at the North Congregational, the Unitarian and the Baptist churches. On his departure the following day the town committee escorted him to the town line.

Governor Dinsmoor, in his message of 1833, bemoans the decline of the military spirit. The people saw no danger of war and the expenditure of time and money in training the militia as in former days seemed to be wasteful, imposing a needless burden of expense. The law requiring drill and inspection was a dead letter in many places. Those who came together for a muster sometimes made it an occasion for scenes of levity and insubordination. It would seem that a standing army, or a fully trained and equipped militia, can not be maintained without an occasional war or some danger of war. The people will not turn a grindstone, unless there is somebody to grind, some axe to sharpen. War expenses are intolerable in time of peace. Our country never has been prepared for war. Her size and position have made full preparation appear unnecessary. A militia large enough to quell internal disorders has seemed to be sufficient, and some would do away with even this, as being more in the service of capitalists than of laborers. The militia of New Hampshire continued to decline in popular favor till trainings and musters disappeared.

By advice of the governor the legislature appointed a committee to learn the number and condition of the blind throughout the State.

William Badger was elected governor in 1834, with only a few scattering votes in opposition. He was born at Gilmanton, January 13, 1779. His father and grandfather had been prominent in the civil and military history of the State, and the Badger family ranked first in Gilmanton. The early life of William

Badger was devoted to business. In 1810 his town sent him to the legislature for two years as their representative. He was State senator in 1814-6, the last year presiding over the senate, and was associate justice of the court of common pleas from 1816 to 1820. The office of high sheriff for Strafford county was filled by him for ten years, 1820-30. His re-election to the governorship in 1835 was by a very large majority. His wealth, his family connection, his genial spirit and his business ability elevated him to the highest office of the State. He was generous, hospitable, kind-hearted and honorable in all his dealings. His death occurred September 21, 1852.

In his first message he called attention, for the first time in public records of New Hampshire, to the advisability of doing away with capital punishment, suggesting solitary confinement and hard labor for life as a substitute more to be dreaded and hence a better preventive of crime.

The Jacksonian Democrats were in evidence in the State legislature. Resolutions were passed approving the course pursued by the delegates of the State in congress, "with the exception of that of the Hon. Samuel Bell." He had voted the previous year in a way that did not meet approval. His resignation was desired, because he with others had condemned the course taken by the President. On the other hand, the same set of resolutions declared, that "the President of the United States, by his ardent endeavors to restore the Constitution to its original purity, by his stern integrity and unbending firmness in resisting the approach of corruption in every protean shape—in staying the lavish expenditures of the public money in an unconstitutional system of internal improvements, by the national government, in setting the tariff upon a more equitable basis, in his prompt resistance to all measures tending to the dissolution of our Union, in his veto on the recharter of that dangerous Institution, the United States Bank, and in the unyielding stand which he has taken against the recent alarming proceedings of that Institution, has proved himself to be a true disciple of Thomas Jefferson, the father of American democracy, and has greatly increased the debt of gratitude due to him from the American people." The resolutions passed by a vote of 163 to 62, showing the trend of political opinion and the subjects that were thought to be of



ISAAC HILL

vital interest. A resolution granting the use of the Hall of Representatives for an anti-slavery speech was voted down in 1835. The same year the Nashua and Lowell, as well as the Boston and Maine Railroad was incorporated, of which more will be said later in this work.

In 1836 Isaac Hill was elected governor of the State with but little opposition. He was born in Somerville, Massachusetts, April 6, 1788, descended from Abraham Hill of Charlestown in 1636. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed for seven years to the publisher of the *Farmer's Cabinet*, a newspaper printed at Amherst, New Hampshire. In April, 1809, he took charge of the *New Hampshire Patriot*, at Concord, and by his rare genius for political journalism made it the leading organ of the Democratic party in the State. Such was his influence that he was said to "carry New Hampshire in his breeches pocket." He could write editorials and carry on conversation at the same time. Many of his articles were composed at the case. Manufacturers and railroads found a champion in him. Four years he served in the State senate and was comptroller of the national treasury under President Jackson. From 1831 to 1836 he was United States senator, which office he resigned to become governor of his State, receiving five-sixths of all the votes cast, and re-elected in the two succeeding years. In 1840 he was appointed sub-treasurer at Boston. The same year he established *Hill's Patriot* and published it for seven years, when the two newspapers were united. The *Farmer's Monthly Visitor* also was published by him. He possessed unusual native ability, wonderful energy, facility in the use of powerful words, and convictions that aroused others. He was a journalistic prophet, uttering the voice of the people. *Vox populi, vox dei.* He died in Washington, D. C., March 22, 1851.

Former gubernatorial messages had consisted of from two to six printed pages; Governor Hill's first message occupies thirty pages of the printed Journal of the House. He had just come from a seat in the senate of the United States, and he opened his message with a severe criticism of that body. A prominent fault of both branches of congress was, that they were made up of men, many of whom were talkers and not doers, "men who either delight in hearing themselves, or suppose

they delight others in being heard, or else who speak that they may be heard elsewhere." Some had been sent to congress too long and had forgotten that they were sent to represent the wishes of their electors. Governor Hill advised frequent changes or rotation in office. The senate of the United States was putting at defiance the instructions of the bodies that elected them, and its members should be chosen for six years, and be ineligible for a second term. The proceedings of congress were tiresome and vexatious. "There have been too many ulterior views, too much of electioneering, interlarded in those proceedings." Months of time were spent in useless talk. Senators should obey the instructions of State legislatures or resign. This was a thrust at Senator Samuel Bell.

The governor had no sympathy with internal improvements at the expense either of the nation or of the State. Canals, railroads, turnpikes and expensive bridges would better be built by private capital in the hands of State-created corporations. He had not heard of modern socialism.

The tendency of increasing the salaries of employees of the national government and of multiplying salaried positions was deplored. The salaries of the higher officers in the navy yard in Portsmouth harbor, "in a single sub-ordinate department," exceeded in amount "the whole compensation of our State Civil List, with the exception of the two branches of the Legislature." A mere boy in the navy was paid as high, in some instances, as the judges of the highest State court, and the temptation was great for all the civil and military officers of the national government to clamor for higher pay. What would Governor Hill have said, if he could have foreseen the practices of the present day! The older and richer a nation becomes, the greater is the evil of multiplying offices needlessly and of paying public officials far more than they could get in any other occupation. "The benefits derived from our State and local administrations far transcend those of the general government; yet the expense of the former, from the highest to the lowest, including the support of the legislature and the judiciary, of our admirable system of common schools, our public highways and bridges, our internal police, our various municipal officers, and our destitute poor, are believed not to equal in amount the proportion which this State pays, and will continue to pay under the present

system of impost into the national treasury. It is true the people feel the direct burden under the State and municipal regulations, because it is assessed in a manner that obliges them to count it when they pay it. They do not as directly realize what goes into the coffers of the nation, because it is included in from twenty to one hundred per cent. of the prices of many articles which they put on for wear or consume for sustenance." Hence he argues for a decreased tariff.

The students of banks and banking should carefully read all the messages of Governor Isaac Hill. They show that he had made a special study of those financial institutions. He saw the defects of the National Bank and of the banks chartered by the States, that had followed the example of the National Bank. The evil results all reduce to this, that too much paper currency was issued, and many banks refused to redeem this in specie. Governor Hill said, that "the business of manufacturing paper, more than equivalent to coining money by the banks, is at the best a tax upon the people among whom it circulates. The paper circulated by any bank beyond its capital in specie is usury over and above the legal interest on such capital. The expenses of the bank paid by the substitution of paper issues for money, as well as all additional profits from such issues, are taxes assessed directly on the borrowers and those among whom the paper circulates. . . . Where there is no specie to represent paper, there is no safety in that paper; money is plenty or scarce as banks issue or cease to issue; sudden changes of issues or contraction produce immense revolutions in property; and banks issuing or contracting their paper, acting in concert either for speculation or for political effect, may create panics, stop the wheels of business, and even threaten revolution with impunity. It is too much that banks, conducted by private and irresponsible individuals, should wield such a power as that of contracting or expanding the currency at will; it is a power that ought to be regulated and wielded only by the law of the land. . . . It is ascertained and known that there is not one specie dollar in bank for every ten paper dollars in circulation, whatever may be the banking capital in use. . . . The legislator will deserve the thanks of the whole community who lends his efforts to do away that circulating paper credit, which is the prolific source of

panic and pressure." The State should take its stand in favor of hard money.

Perhaps as a result of Governor Hill's enlightenment the legislature in 1838 considered an act to authorize free banking in the State. All bills issued by any bank were to have printed upon their face, "Secured by pledge of real Estate," and the real estate was to be productive and unincumbered, the mortgages thereupon bearing interest at six per cent. and of one-third greater value, aside from the buildings thereon, than the amount for which it was mortgaged. This backing would give value to the paper issued. Such bank bills were to be redeemable in specie instantly on demand. Over-issue of bank bills was punishable by fine of three thousand dollars, or imprisonment for two years, or both, visited upon the treasurer. The amount of capital stock of a bank must be at least fifty thousand dollars, and the maximum limit was half a million dollars. Report of the condition of each bank must be made four times each year, and its affairs were open to the inspection of a Bank Commissioner at all times. Thus safeguards were put about the deposits of the people, and provision was made for a paper currency that would not fluctuate in value. After some debate the bill was referred to the next session of the legislature and there it was indefinitely postponed. It was a time of extensive bankruptcy and great consequent distress. Nevertheless within a period of six years the amount of gold and silver in the United States had increased from six millions to one hundred millions. Some banks of New Hampshire had suspended specie payment, sending their specie out of the State in exchange for depreciated bank bills of other States. Fractional paper currency took the place of silver, in spite of law against the same.

At this time there was a surplus in the United States treasury, occasioned by high tariff and the sale of much land in the West. Distribution to the several States was ordered, in four payments, of thirty-six million dollars, and the share of New Hampshire was over eight hundred thousand dollars. The legislature voted to divide this amount among the towns, in proportion to their population, and the question was publicly discussed whether the general government had a constitutional right to collect money from the people by a tariff and give the same

back to the people, for the sake of "protecting" certain industries.

During his term of office as governor Isaac Hill acted as pension agent of the United States, and a debate arose whether in harmony with the constitution of the State the two offices could be held by the same man. All turned on the question, whether a pension agency was an "office or place," or a "contract," as Governor Hill claimed, but a special committee of the legislature reported that it was an office, and that therefore he could not constitutionally be governor while acting as pension agent. But he had been governor the usual three years by the time the debate was concluded, and so voluntarily relinquished the governorship, announcing that he would not be a candidate for re-election.

Chapter VII

A MINIATURE REPUBLIC

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A MINIATURE REPUBLIC.

Boundaries of Indian Stream—First Explorers—Land Bought of Chief Philip—First Settlers—Government by the Proprietors—Rival Claims to the Territory—Formation of an Independent Republic—Nature of Their Constitution—Government Vested in a Council of Five and an Assembly of All the Citizens—The Constitution Might Be Changed Annually—Poor Debtors Protected from Starvation—Difficulty of Enforcing Laws—The Inhabitants Divided into Three Parties—Broils Controlled by New Hampshire Militia—Commissioners Induce People to Return to Allegiance to New Hampshire—Incorporation of Pittsburg and Settlement of the Boundary Line.

THE boundary line between northern New Hampshire and Canada was in dispute from 1783, the Treaty of Paris, to the time of the Ashburton Treaty, in 1842. The dispute was concerning the determining of the westernmost branch of the Connecticut River. Three principal streams unite to form that river. The eastern branch is now known as the Connecticut, flowing through a series of three lakes. The western branch has long been called Hall's Stream, and the branch between these two bears the name of Indian Stream. The whole country drained by these streams embraces about one hundred and sixty thousand acres. The district is almost identical with the present town of Pittsburg. It is a land of mountains, waterfalls, forests, some meadow lands along the streams, and bold and beautiful scenery.

The lure of land invited some hardy and adventurous hunters and settlers into this region before the end of the eighteenth century. After the revolutionary war no danger was feared from the St. Francis tribe of Indians, who claimed ownership of all lands in this vicinity. Luther Fuller hunted here in 1785. Colonel Jeremiah Eames surveyed the region for the government of the United States in 1789, in an attempt to fix the boundary line, and the same year David Gibbs of Haverhill and Nathaniel Wales of Lisbon came here as hunters and pros-

pectors. They found good hunting and fishing and were so pleased with the fertile intervals that they induced a small company to go with them the following year and locate claims, or make "pitches," to the number of twelve or fifteen. They did not, however, remain through a winter.

In 1796 Chief Philip of the St. Francis tribe gave to David Gibbs, Nathaniel Wales and Moody Bedel a deed of all this region, reserving to the St. Francis Indians the right to hunt and fish therein forever, security having been given him to furnish him and his squaw with suitable provisions and clothing. Also the Indians were to have liberty to plant four bushels of corn and beans. Under this deed transfers of land were made till 1824, when the legislature of New Hampshire decided, in harmony with ancient law, that Chief Philip's conveyance was invalid. Nathaniel Wales sold a part of his share, sixteen thousand acres, in 1802, to Hobart Spencer for three thousand dollars; so that it must be inferred that the Indian chief got a very small price for land conveyed. However, he lost nothing, had the usual privileges of hunting, fishing and planting, and had a comfortable support besides. The same Nathaniel Wales sold to Thomas Cutts of York county thirty thousand acres in 1804 for \$4,074, and he had more land left. The purchasers of large tracts of land were only speculators and never settled here. Some tracts changed ownership quickly, and it is not easy to tell from deeds who the actual settlers were. Among the first may be named Samuel Osborn, David Tyler, James Ladd, Jonathan Kimball, Jesse Tyler, John Haynes, Nathaniel Perkins, Ebenezer Fletcher, James Heath, and Nathan Judd. The settlement slowly increased till in 1820 there were about fifty families at Indian Stream, the name most frequently given to the entire region between the headwaters of the Connecticut river and Hall's Stream. Most of the settlers were located along the lower course of Indian Stream and on both sides of the Connecticut river, near where the two waters unite. Here are some of the richest intervalle farms in the State. In 1824 there were reported, by a State commission, fifty-eight families and a population of two hundred and eighty-five. There were then under cultivation eight hundred and forty-seven acres. After 1820 settlement extended more along the Connecticut river and the political center of the country became

near the mouth of Back Lake Brook, where the present village of Pittsburg is.

Proprietors' meetings were held and records were kept as early as 1811, showing some degree of mutual agreement among the settlers. They were far into the wilderness and were a law unto themselves. It has been conjectured and written that some settled here to escape law, but there is no evidence that the first settlers of Indian Stream were law-breakers more than the inhabitants of other towns, except that in 1812 some smugglers were located here, tempted, as all frontier towns were, to such violation of law. In every frontier settlement each man is expected to defend his own rights and oftentimes to determine what law is for him. The proprietors did what lawless communities can not do; they made assessments on cultivated lands and collected money for public uses. Itinerant preachers visited them and soon a church and a school were established.

A State commission visited the place in 1824 and quieted the actual settlers in the possession of two hundred acres each, except Nathaniel Perkins and Jeremiah Tabor, who were allowed to hold seven hundred acres each. It was then decided that the so-called deed of Chief Philip established no valid claim to the land, and all of Indian Stream territory that was not then allotted to settlers was held to be the property of the State of New Hampshire.

There were rival claims to this territory, and all the settlers knew it. While most of them wished to be under the jurisdiction of New Hampshire, a few thought it to their advantage to be ranked as Canadians, and some preferred to be independent, belonging to the United States, but not to New Hampshire. Their marriages were solemnized under New Hampshire laws, and they were not averse to receiving from the State bounties for the killing of wild beasts, but there was uncertainty as to what would be the end of the dispute between the United States and Great Britain concerning the national ownership of the land. In 1827 the King of the Netherlands as arbitrator recognized the English claim, but the United States did not accept his decision. In 1831 United States authorities acted inconsistently with their claims and collected duties on goods sent from Indian Stream into the States. This quenched to some extent the desire of some to be considered Canadians. About the same time authorities in

Canada, a short distance over the line, began to assert the right of government and even of exacting military service. They located a township, called Drayton, east of Hall's Stream, and built a road to Indian Stream. Thus the settlers knew not which master to serve and so decided to set up a government of their own.

On the eleventh of June, 1832, a committee, consisting of David Mitchell, Luther Parker, Phinehas Willard, Herman Batchelder and Nathan Judd, were appointed to draft a constitution, and on the ninth of July following their report was adopted by a vote of fifty-six to three. It is a remarkable production, consisting of preamble, bill of rights, and form of government. Much of the phraseology reminds the reader of the Constitution of the United States and that of New Hampshire. The principles of natural right on which it is founded have long been asserted by the ablest philosophic minds. The local government hereby established was but the fixing of the thoughts and customs of the community, the formal assertion of what the people already held and practiced. Laws are not made to order, nor as the result of caprice. Wise legislators aim to find out what is right in the nature of things, what are the eternal, underlying laws of human society, and then to formulate what commends itself to the common sense of mankind. Thus all constitutions must be grounded in universally admitted truth, such as the equality of men, liberty of conscience, right to protection of life and property, and mutual concessions for the highest good of the greatest number. Despotisms publish no constitutions and bills of right; might is the only foundation of such rule. The settlers at Indian Stream had all been educated in republican principles and wanted protection with the largest possible measure of liberty. Their accepted rule was conscience acting under the guidance of enlightened reason, and the outward expression of law was the will of the people as made known by a majority vote of duly assembled and qualified voters. They sought not to establish a permanent republic, but only a provisional one, till it should be determined whether their territory belonged to Great Britain or to the United States. The object in view as their preamble says was "to preserve union among ourselves, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for our common security and defense, and secure the important blessings of civilized society." They claimed the right

"to exercise all the powers of a free, sovereign and independent State," till the boundary dispute was settled. In fact, they did precisely what Dover and Exeter did when those towns were first settled, for they acted as though they were independent, democratic republics. There is nothing else for free, enlightened people to do, when they find themselves without government and in need of one. They then learn how to govern themselves. To submit to one of their own number as king is possible only where the many are very ignorant and one towers above the rest in intelligence and power.

It is cause of admiration that a few farmers and lumbermen could frame such a constitution as they did, even with the aid of similar formulated principles and rules. They must have been men of some degree of education and of intellectual capacity. None of them became famous in the political annals of any State, but they were and should always be considered the great men of Indian Stream, as great as the leaders in any other and better known town. They were frontiersmen, hardy, strong, courageous, hard-headed, warm-hearted, independent and conscientious. There was no outlawry among them like that reported, or fancied, in a western mining camp. They had respect for human rights and the decencies of civilization. Their laws were founded in common sense, justice and necessity. They resorted to force only in defense of each other against aggressions from the Canadian side.

The supreme legislative power of this infant republic was vested in a council of five and an assembly. The first five councilors chosen were Phinehas Willard, Luther Parker, David Mitchell, Nathaniel Perkins and John Haynes, elected for one year. They had not only legislative, but also executive and judicial power. All bills, acts and resolves for making laws and regulations had to originate in the council and be discussed and accepted by the assembly. The council had command of the militia with authority to repel invaders and put down insurrection even at the cost of life. They could pardon criminals at their discretion. A majority of the five was sufficient for action. They were constituted "a high court of error," or a supreme law court, to stop proceedings of other courts and decide what was legal and constitutional, commanding justices to reverse or correct their judgments.

The assembly was made up of all male inhabitants of Indian Stream who were twenty-one years of age, had lived there three months, and took the oath of fidelity to its constitution and laws. They had power to approve laws and acts presented by the council or to reject the same. They appointed all civil officers required by the constitution and laws. They assessed taxes for the maintenance of roads, bridges and public schools, and the members of the council acted and voted in the assembly. The councilors and clerk were paid for their services. All previous laws and regulations of Indian Stream Territory were to remain in force till repealed by the assembly.

One provision of the constitution deserves special notice. At each annual meeting the speaker of the assembly put the question to vote, whether any change was desired in the constitution. The vote was taken by yeas and nays in response to a roll-call. If a majority of a quorum present voted in favor of amendment or alteration of the constitution, then the assembly chose a committee to prepare such amendments and alterations as were desired, and if at a special meeting of the assembly two-thirds voted for the proposed changes, then they became a part of the constitution. Thus the fundamental law of the land could be changed every year. Why not? Why should one generation assume to make almost unchangeable law for generations to come? Is it reasonable to suppose that in the progress of mankind they will be less wise than we? Why should not wise and good men do what they want to, when they want to and as they want to? Laws that are good will not be changed by the good. Laws that are bad ought to be changed as speedily as possible. Why try to bind and hold the future with the dead hand? Constitutional conventions are now getting to be more frequent than they once were. Human thought is expanding rapidly. Let every constitution be abreast of the times, the present expression of the convictions and desires of the whole people, so far as the same may be learned.

Provision was made for trial by jury before some justice of the peace who acted in civil and criminal cases. The fee of the justice for each trial and each adjourned case was fixed at one dollar, and every writ must be paid for in advance at cost of twenty-five cents. The sheriff's fees were also very small. It is

evident that the people of Indian Stream did not mean to put themselves at the mercy of lawyers and law courts. Property could be attached for debt at double the value of the debt, but the exceptions were sufficient to protect the poor from distress. They were "One cow, one hog, one swine not over six months old, the meat of one hog, seven sheep and the wool of seven sheep, three tons of hay, one bed and bedding for every two persons, all wearing apparel and all their books, and, if a farmer or mechanic, twenty dollars worth of tools, one gun and equipments, household furniture to the amount of twenty dollars, one bushel of grain, meal, or flour to each person, twenty-five bushels of potatoes, and two bushels of salt." The poor debtor and his family could not be starved or turned out of doors.

All between the ages of twenty-one and fifty were enrolled in the militia and were required to meet for training one day in the year, each militiaman furnishing his own arms and equipment.

From the beginning of the settlement laws had been treated too much as recommendations or requests. The transgressor had not the fear of penalty before his eyes. There was no jail, and the sheriff finally was allowed to confine arrested persons in his own house or out-buildings. It was too easy to escape punishment by crossing the boundary line of the settlement. It was difficult to compel obedience to law, and some lawless ones fled to this settlement from Canada. New Hampshire, not recognizing the independence of Indian Stream, served writs upon some of its inhabitants. Application for relief was addressed to the attorney-general of the United States, claiming that they were under the jurisdiction of the United States, but not under that of New Hampshire. His reply was, "If you are within the limits of the United States, as has always been maintained by this government, it is because you are within the limits of the State of New Hampshire." This led to the sending of a petition, signed by sixty out of seventy-five voters, to the Governor of Lower Canada, asking for relief and protection against invasions from New Hampshire. The inhabitants were divided into "New Hampshire Boys" and Canadian sympathizers and a few who were gloriously independent of both governments.

It is too long a story to tell of arrests made on both sides of the assumed boundary line and of rescues of the men arrested.

There was a good deal of violent talk, and on one occasion stones were thrown, a pistol was fired, a sabre was swung, and several were wounded. Captain James Mooney was sent with about fifty New Hampshire militiamen to preserve order. Parker, who had been prominent as a leader among the settlers, got discouraged, took his family and settled in Wisconsin.

Lord Gosford, Governor of the province of Lower Canada, made complaints of irregularities on the part of some inhabitants of Indian Stream. A commission, consisting of Joseph Low, Ralph Metcalf and John P. Hale, visited the settlement in 1836. They and the militia soon convinced the settlers that they belonged to New Hampshire and that it would be for their own interests to publicly acknowledge that fact, which they did by a series of resolutions, published in the two newspapers of Concord. The troops were removed at once. The independent republic ceased to exist. It died unlamented, and the inhabitants of Indian Stream became law-abiding citizens of New Hampshire. The town of Pittsburg was incorporated, December 10, 1840. The settlement of the boundary line was made in 1842 by the Ashburton Treaty, as beginning at the head of Hall's Stream. Since that time development has been steady. Railroads have brought business and summer tourists, and the little republic of 1832-6 is now a flourishing and beautiful town.¹

¹ The historical facts concerning Indian Stream have been gathered by Grant Showerman, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Wisconsin, and published as the eleventh volume of the Collections of the N. H. Historical Society, under the editorship of Otis Grant Hammond, M.A. The Hist. of Coos County, published by W. A. Ferguson & Co., of Syracuse, in 1888, contains well written chapters on Pittsburg, by David Blanchard, Esq., pp. 696-720. Special attention is called to an article in the second volume of the Proceedings of the N. H. Historical Society, by Judge Edgar Aldrich, with maps, portraits, etc., pp. 366-400. Judge Aldrich adds to his article an extended bibliography of the subject. See also Potter's Military Hist. of N. H., pp. 269-288.

Chapter VIII

STATE POLITICS AND THE MEXICAN WAR

Chapter VIII

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Need of at least Two Political Parties—Democrats and Whigs—Van Buren and Harrison—James Wilson—Gov. John Page—New Hampshire Banks Independent United States Treasury—Corporations versus the People—Education of the Blind Commenced—Extent of the Militia—Relief of Poor Debtors—War with England Averted by Settlement of the Northern Boundary—Gov. Henry Hubbard—Opposition to the Tariff—Responsibility of Stockholders—Defense of the Unjustly Accused—One of the Rights of Women—Gov. John H. Steele—Corporations should be Servants, not Masters—The Tariff Made Responsible for too Much—Strife over the Annexation of Texas—Condemnation of the Policy of England—Dr. Jackson's Geologic Survey of the State—Minerals Discovered—Gov. Anthony Colby—Cause of the Mexican War—Part of New Hampshire in the War—Administration of the only Whig Governor.

A REPUBLIC can not long continue under the dominance of a single party. Issues continually arise that express differences of opinion and desire. Where there is something to contend for, there must be something to contend against. Two almost evenly balanced parties are the historic rule and the safeguard of a republic, and there is sometimes need of a third and a fourth party, but these are either short-lived, or they take the place of one of the old parties, that then passes away. At about the time to which we have arrived the old Republican-Democratic party was splitting into Democrats and Whigs. The name of the latter party was not new in this country and had been previously known in Great Britain as the party opposed to the Tories. The latter supported the government in power; while the Whigs sought changes and innovations. In the United States President Van Buren had many opponents, who in 1840 gathered around the standard of William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe. The political struggle for the mastery became fiercer than ever before. In 1839 the standard bearers of the two parties were, for the Whigs, James Wilson of Keene, and, for the Democrats, John Page of Haverhill.

Although James Wilson was defeated, his prominence as a public speaker and his influence was so great that he deserves special mention. He was son of Hon. James Wilson, who was a graduate of Harvard College, representative to congress, 1809-11, an able lawyer and a firm Federalist. James Wilson, his son, inherited the talents and the legal practice of his father. He was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy and at Middlebury College. He took great interest in military affairs and rose from captain of the Keene light infantry to be major-general of militia. It is suspected that men of political aspirations then made use of the militia, just as now they use the Grangers and other organizations to make acquaintances, gain popularity and secure votes. James Wilson represented Keene in the legislature from 1825 to 1840, excepting the years 1833, 1838 and 1839. In the last two years he was the Whig candidate for governor, receiving 25,244 votes in 1838 and 23,028 in 1839. His reputation as an orator extended far and wide. He was six feet four inches in height, well built, of stentorian voice, ready in wit, able to tell a story without sobering his audience, quick to cry or laugh and make others do the same, possessing great facility in the use of language, sincere and sympathetic, upright and honorable. People of all shades of political belief flocked to hear him. The title, "Long Jim," shows better than any other words can what the people thought of him. His oratory helped enlistments in the Civil War, and he was an honored citizen of Keene till his death, in 1881.

His political opponent in 1839 was John Page, born at Haverhill, May 21, 1787, whose father, of the same name, was one of the first settlers in that town. All his schooling was obtained in the common schools of his native town before he was fifteen years of age. Then his help was needed on the farm. In the War of 1812 he served as lieutenant in the frontier guard at Stewartstown. At different times he held the offices of selectman, representative and register of deeds of Grafton county. In 1835 he was elected United States senator and served till 1837, filling out the unexpired term of Isaac Hill. After filling the governor's chair three years he returned to farming. He was influential in securing the building of the Boston, Concord and Montreal Railroad, and while governor he promoted agriculture by recommending and securing the Geologic Survey of the State under the direc-

tion of Dr. Charles T. Jackson of Boston. He died at Haverhill September 3, 1865.

In all the messages of Governor Page emphasis is laid on banking. At this time there were twenty-eight banks in New Hampshire, too many, as the governor thought, and more intent upon making money by speculation and overissue of bank notes than in ministering to the needs of the people. Many had suspended specie payment. The banks sustained themselves "by collecting bills of other banks and depositing them in Boston for the redemption of their own notes." At this time there was no State debt, since the State had entered into no plans for internal improvement. The ordinary expenses of the State government were forty-five thousand dollars annually, raised by direct taxation. Individuals and corporations were supposed to be better able to build railroads and canals, although the idea was vanishing that the public roads for carriages should also be constructed by private companies that collected toll often. It is remarkable that the same notion has prevailed till the present day, in spite of increasing argument and conviction to the contrary.

For some time there had been agitation and efforts made to establish an Independent United States Treasury, and this was effected during the governorship of John Page. He congratulates the State on this fact in his message of November, 1840. There was a general and growing distrust of all private banks, and State banks were but little in favor. The desire was to separate the fiscal concerns of the general government from all connection with the banking corporations of the entire country. This was effected on a basis of redemption in gold and silver. A committee reporting to the legislature of 1839 stated, that since the year 1814 the government had lost nearly \$13,000,-000 by banks and the depreciation of bank notes received in payment of the public revenues. From 1817 to 1834 there were deposited in banks three hundred and fifty million dollars, on which there was a loss of a million and a quarter of dollars; while from the organization of the government down to 1837 ten billions and fifty-three millions of dollars had passed through the hands of government officials, with a loss of a little over one million dollars, and eighty millions had been coined at the gov-

ernment mint without the loss of a single dollar. Thus the superior safety of the Independent United States Treasury was demonstrated. Moreover, there was a financial panic in 1837, due to the suspension of specie payment at a time when there had been an overplus of many millions in the United States treasury, that was actually distributed among the States, and there were forty millions of specie in the vaults of the banks. It did not seem to occur to those who distrusted the private banks that corporations not trustworthy in the handling of money would not be any more reliable in the management of railroads and other public improvements. Since then such corporations have filched more money from the pockets of the people than all the defaulting banks ever did, yet the old cry is still heard, that governments as such may only "control," but not build and manage any internal improvements. Let private capital continue to absorb the wages of the toilers, as in all history has been the fact. The legislature of New Hampshire, in 1839, adopted a series of resolutions in favor of the United States Treasury and payment of notes in gold and silver, instructing their senators and representatives in congress to support bills to such effect.

Governor Page cautioned against excessive legislation and frequent changes in the laws, as tending to increase litigation and useless expense. Special legislation in favor of corporations had wrought evil. There were corporations "with a sole view to avoid personal responsibility, to enable individuals to transact business under their corporate name, with an exemption from all responsibility, beyond their mere interest in the corporate property. Applications to the legislature for such favors ought not to be encouraged. . . . The interests of the public, as well as the rights of individuals, should be guarded with great care. The number and power of corporations in this country have been extended to an alarming degree, and it may require the utmost vigilance and efforts of our people, as well as their legislatures, to retain the government of the country in opposition to so many and so powerful combinations."

The State made an appropriation for the education of the blind, and \$675 were expended for that purpose in an institution in Boston. Still the State was sending its deaf and dumb to be trained at Hartford.

Governor Page's message in 1841 stated that there were then one million and a half of soldiers enrolled in the militia throughout the Union. Of this number about thirty thousand were in New Hampshire, who were called out thrice each year for inspection, drill and review. The expense was great and the people were groaning under the burden. The same arguments were used for and against preparedness that are used now. We must be ready to defend ourselves always, or somebody is likely to attack us; so it was said then, and "preparedness" led us into the Mexican War.

The legislature of 1840 having abolished the law for the imprisonment of poor debtors, the governor the following year suggested "whether some small portions of the uncollected avails of the debtor's labor might not justly and consistently with the best good of community be exempted from the operation of the trustee process." The little republic at Indian Stream, by its acts of 1832, was teaching the great State advanced legislation. See previous chapter.

The settlement of the northern boundary of Maine and New Hampshire by the Ashburton Treaty, in 1842, was preceded by much excitement and talk of another war with England. The terms of the Treaty of Paris, in 1783, seemed to be clear and to sustain the American contention. The British claimed more than they expected to get, so as to settle by a seeming compromise. British forces were sent into northern Maine, and Maine sent militiamen to resist encroachments. New Hampshire passed a series of resolutions in sympathy with Maine and pledged the national government her support in defense of her own right and that of a sister State. War was averted by concessions. The northern boundary of New Hampshire remained as the State claimed, but Maine lost a portion that properly belonged to her, little, however, in comparison with what England claimed, for she asked for one-third of the State. The motto of grasping nations seems to be—Claim all and take what you can.

The election of 1842 resulted in the choice of Henry Hubbard for governor. The opposition was scattered among three or more candidates, the chief of whom was Enos Stevens. Hubbard's votes numbered 26,831, and he was re-elected the two following years. He was born at Charlestown May 3, 1784, and

graduated at Dartmouth College in 1803. Jeremiah Mason was his instructor in law and his native town was the place where he practiced and made his home. Sixteen times he was moderator at town meetings, and eleven times he represented his town in the legislature. In 1825 he was Speaker of the House. He was Judge of Probate two years in Sullivan county. The Democratic party sent him to congress, 1831-5. From 1835 to 1841 he filled a seat in the senate of the United States. After his retirement from the governorship he removed for a time to Boston, where he was sub-treasurer. He returned to Charlestown in 1849 and died there June 5, 1857. He is described as a willing and unwearied worker, ardent and courteous in political debates, loved by friends and respected by opponents. He was specially active in the passage of the Pension Act of 1832, which gave some late reward to the soldiers of the Revolution. On the split-up of the Federalist party he sided with the Jacksonian Democrats and was their ardent leader.

Governor Hubbard's messages to the legislature are able, suggestive, and lengthy, showing the trend of political thought and commercial activity. At this time it was proposed to distribute among the States the money received from the sale of public lands. This was strenuously opposed by the governor and legislature. They said that such money should be used for the expenses of government and the tariff should be lowered. A few manufacturers were being "protected" at the expense of millions of consumers. It then cost one million dollars out of every fourteen millions of tariff to pay expenses of collection, and the governor cites the opinion of some expert, that the direct and indirect costs of collection of tariffs averaged forty-five per cent. of their gross amount. In spite of tariff and sale of lands the nation had in one year contracted a debt of twenty million dollars.

An important recommendation of the governor was, that, when an accused person was shown to be innocent, he should not be compelled to bear any expense in his own trial. Sometimes it was an insupportable burden for a poor man to defend himself against malicious accusation. The accuser, whether the State or an individual, ought to bear the expense, if the accusation is unsupported. So it would seem, but there is something to be said on the other side. The upright and law-abiding citizen

rarely is accused, while the real transgressor of law often fails to be convicted. Some measure of self-defense may perhaps well be left to every citizen. The governor was averse to allowing retrials, generally speaking, after a jury had come to a conclusion. In many cases their first decision should be final. Again the voice of a governor is raised against capital punishment.

He advises against the creation of corporations, the members of which are privately irresponsible for the debts of the corporation. Stockholders in banks should be made liable for debts contracted, as was the case in English law and also in the law of one of our own States at that time. The legislature had no moral nor constitutional right to confer on corporations, as railroads, the power to take private property for their own use, under the plea that it was for the benefit of the public. The stockholders in railroad corporations are not working for the public, but to enrich themselves. They render, it is true, a service to the public, as does every honest laborer, but they are paid for their services.

Another recommendation of Governor Hubbard will be appreciated by those who insist that women should have their full and complete rights. He advised that the property of females, up to a declared limit, should not be taxed, on the ground that they had not equal opportunities with the men for earning money.

John Hardy Steele was elected governor as a Democrat in 1844 and was re-elected the following year, his principal competitor being Anthony Colby. Governor Steele was born in Salisbury, North Carolina, January 4, 1789. He was apprenticed to a mechanic at an early age, and was later brought to Peterborough, New Hampshire, by Captain Nathaniel Morrison, to work in his carriage factory. He was soon a manufacturer himself, making chairs and gigs. He had mechanical genius and put in operation the first power loom in the State, in 1847, building and superintending a cotton mill at West Peterborough, in 1824. He visited England and Ireland in 1842. At different times he represented Peterborough in the legislature, and acted on the governor's council. After retiring from the governor's office he attempted the role of the scientific farmer, in which he found much pleasure and no remuneration. The

output was more than the income. Experiments in scientific farming are a beautiful recreation for such as have agricultural tastes and have made a lot of money in manufacturing and trading. The ordinary farmer can not follow their example. Governor Steele died at Peterborough July 3, 1865.

A passage in Governor Steele's message of 1845 is worthy of attention, since the threatened evil is ever recurrent:

Individuals as well as associated wealth rarely, if ever, suffer an opportunity to pass without making strenuous exertions to retain, if not to gain privileges denied to the mass of the community; and it is too often the case that individuals, even among legislators, are to be found, who, from personal motives, as well as from undefined expectations of benefits to themselves, are ready to advocate and grant to corporations privileges and immunities which they would at once refuse to partnerships or to individuals. In my opinion acts of incorporation should never be granted, except where individual or partnership enterprise is manifestly incompetent to accomplish the object intended, and when granted should be rigidly restricted in their powers and privileges. In short, they should be made, as they are intended to be, servants and not masters of the people. A different course, or one granting to combined wealth exclusive privileges or immunities, would ere long raise the grantees above the grantors, and corporate bodies would soon usurp the power, without possessing the dignity or personal responsibility of the landed and titled aristocracy of Europe.

Certainly the governor had some prophetic insight and foresight. The struggle between the masses and the capitalists has been unabated since his time and is now more violent than ever. There can be only one issue, however long postponed.

The tariff question was ever before the people, and every governor had something to say about it. If there was depression in business, want of currency, or panic, the innocent tariff was blamed. If there was business prosperity, the friends of a high protective tariff pointed to it as the direct cause. The governor told the legislature that France, England and Germany had depression in business and also prosperity during the years that we had the same in the United States, and England had no tariff. The opening of China as a market had more to do with increased business than the tariff, and the governor spoke as a manufacturer. It is well to carefully distinguish between occasions, coincidences, and causes.

In the governor's message of June, 1845, the annexation of Texas is advocated with enthusiasm and Oregon is claimed

against the pretensions of Great Britain. A special committee considered this part of his message and brought in a series of resolves, which were adopted by the House, not without opposition. It is interesting at this time to note the antipathy then felt toward the nation that we now sympathize with most deeply. The aggressions of Great Britain were keenly felt. The governor said, that "no people or government ever yet admitted or even proposed to waive or yield any of its rights to the claims or demands of Great Britain but in the end had cause to repent of so doing. The public, I trust, have not yet forgotten the easy terms on which that haughty power obtained possession of a large portion of the State of Maine. Our government was first induced to listen to quibbles about the words, "Sea" and "Ocean," then amused by the discovery that Mars Hill was high enough to cast a shadow over the treaty line, and at last astounded by the discovery that Mars Hill was too high to permit the boundary line to pass over it."

The report of the committee recalls the "overreaching policy and deep duplicity of Great Britain in relation to the northeastern boundary," which ought to be a warning to look out for our rights in the settlement of the northwestern boundary. The animus of the people is shown in the following:

Resolved, That the interference of England to prevent the peaceful annexation of Texas to the Union is a measure as unprecedented and unjustifiable as insulting to the Republic, and requires speedy explanation by the British ministry.

Resolved, That the interference of the United States to avert from any portion of the people of this continent or the world the miseries of British colonial servitude would be abundantly justified by the acts of that government.

Resolved, That the recent development of the intrigues of the British government with those of Mexico and Texas, to defeat the policy of this nation in relation to the annexation of Texas, demonstrates the sagacity, wisdom and patriotism of such of our statesmen as, by their efforts, brought this great measure to a triumphant consummation.

The resolves were opposed by a minority on the ground that the admission of Texas into the Union was only a part of the plan to extend slavery in this country, and that said plan ought to be combated by every friend of humanity, patriotism and religion. The discussion showed how bitter still was the memory of the Revolution and the War of 1812. Nations should be

judged by what they now are, not by what they once were, and the same is true of individuals.

During the administration of Governor Steele the Geologic Survey of the State was completed by Dr. Jackson after a labor of two years or more. Previous to this he had surveyed Maine and Rhode Island and parts of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. A more minute survey was made by Dr. C. H. Hitchcock in 1870-73, so that here may be noted only the discovery of minerals by Dr. Jackson, which led in some cases to business enterprises. A condensed report made to the legislature in 1842 sums up his chapter on Economical Geology in his First Annual Report on the geology of the State, printed the preceding year. He disabuses the public mind of the conceit that coal mines may be found in granite formations, putting an end to the fruitless exploration for that mineral. He found magnetic iron ore, not only at Franconia, where mines had been worked since 1805 by the New Hampshire Iron Manufacturing company, but also in Jackson, Bartlett, Piermont and other towns. The bog iron ore of Gilmanton was at this time about exhausted.

Inexhaustible beds of limestone were found at Haverhill and Lisbon. That at Haverhill was worked on a large scale, and six bushels of lime were sold for a dollar and a half. A bed of lime fit for agriculture was found at Amherst.

Copper was found in Franconia, Unity and Warren. The ore in Warren was associated with zinc. The zinc and lead mines of Eaton were considered workable. Here the zinc ore was five or six feet deep, and an analysis showed thirty-three per cent. of sulphur and sixty-three per cent. of zinc. An attempt had been made to work a mine of lead in Eaton twelve years before. The vein was eight inches wide. The zinc ores of Warren and Shelburne furnished as high a percentage of pure zinc as the mines wrought in England. The lead ore of Shelburne was declared to be rich enough in silver to pay a profit on the expense attending its extraction.

Two veins of tin ore were found in Jackson, specimens of which yielded seventy-three per cent. of fine tin. Another mine in Jackson yielded, from a specimen, sixty per cent. of arsenic and thirty per cent. of iron. One hundred pounds of the tin ore of Jackson were estimated to be worth from twelve to sixteen dollars.

Mica was quarried in several towns, especially in Grafton, yielding fifteen hundred dollars in yearly sales. It was obtained also in Alstead.

Granular quartz was ground to powder in the town of Unity, and used in making sand paper and rifles for sharpening scythes. Another use suggested was that of mixing it with paint, "in order to encrust the pillars of public buildings so as to prevent injury from the knives of idlers." Quartz was also used in the manufacture of glass, especially at Keene by the New Hampshire Glass Manufacturing Company.

A plumbago mine in Goshen was being worked, and the ground mineral sold at three to five cents per pound, twenty tons being sold in a year. Plumbago was also found in Hillsborough and Antrim. A very valuable ore of titanium was found in Unity and in Merrimack, the latter worth sixteen dollars a pound, employed by dentists in the manufacture of mineral teeth and by porcelain painters.

The survey of Dr. Jackson gave much information about the rocks and soils of the State and was calculated to be of great assistance to the farmers. Some were induced to search for ore and minerals as an easier way of getting rich quick. The efforts made from time to time in Warren cost more money than was dug out of mines. The iron works at Jackson promised well, and sixty thousand dollars were once offered for them by an English company, but the owners missed their opportunity in the endeavor to get one hundred thousand dollars. The ore is there in abundance.

In 1846 there was no election of governor by the people. Anthony Colby, candidate of the Whig party, had 17,707 votes; Jared W. Williams had 26,740 votes as the candidate of the Democratic party; and Nathaniel S. Berry had 10,379 votes, with about five hundred scattering. The opponents of the Democratic party combined in the legislature and gave to Anthony Colby 146 votes to 124 for Jared W. Williams.

Anthony Colby was born in New London, November 13, 1795. His education was obtained in the common schools. He was the first Whig to fill the governor's chair, owing his election to his personal popularity. He was a manufacturer and a man of the people, of genial disposition and known for benevolent works. It was he who established Colby Academy in New Lon-

don, an honored institution under Baptist control. He was a trustee of Dartmouth College from 1850 to 1870, from which he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts. In the militia he rose to the rank of major-general. His party was not yet strong enough to hold the trenches gained from the political enemy, and so Governor Colby had to retire at the end of one year, the only man, as he jocosely said, who satisfied the people in such a brief time. He died at New London July 13, 1773.

During Governor Colby's administration and the following year the Mexican War was in progress. In general the opponents of slavery condemned the war and the annexation of Texas as movements in the interests of the slave-holding States. Resolutions approving the war were voted down in 1846 and passed by a small majority in 1847. One hundred and twenty-nine members of the House voted, that the Mexicans were a "weak, harassed and defenseless people," that sympathy was due to the friends of the brave men who had fallen "victims to the baleful spirit of conquest and lust of territorial aggrandizement," and that "the prevalence of better councils, and a wise, moderate and conciliatory policy might have saved us from this calamitous and bootless war." On the other hand a majority voted, that in the measures taken by the national executive "we recognize not only a spirit of justice, and a desire for peace, but at the same time, wisdom, statesmanlike forecast, and patriotic energy." The sober judgment of history seems to be, that the Mexican war was one of conquest on the part of the United States, although provoked thereto by many acts of aggression. The acquisition of territory and the extension of slavery were the chief motives. It was the triumph of a strong nation over a weak one. Nevertheless, the results, extending through the intervening years from that time to this, have demonstrated that the territory annexed to the United States was greatly benefited, and that it would have been better for all Mexico, if the whole of it had then become a part of this country. Even military conquest of the inferior by a superior civilization may be a blessing in disguise, but who shall decide at the critical moment, which is the superior civilization? Is it not that which produces, in the long run, the best men in greatest number? And is not ideal character better than physical force? The trouble with Mexico has been the average Mexican, and the average

has been low because of the oppressions of the powerful few.

New Hampshire had only a small part in the Mexican War. The most of the soldiers in three companies of the Ninth Regiment of United States Infantry were recruited in New Hampshire, under the auspices of Colonel Franklin Pierce. Among those who distinguished themselves for gallantry were Lieutenant George Bowers of Nashua, afterwards a Lieutenant Colonel in the Civil War, Sergeant John Bedel of Bath, afterward Colonel and Brevet Brigadier-General in the Civil War, Lieutenant Jesse A. Gove of Concord, who fell at the head of a Massachusetts regiment in the Civil War, Major W. W. S. Bliss of Lebanon, who was brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel for gallant and meritorious conduct at the battle of Buena Vista, Lieutenant John H. Jackson of Portsmouth, who was saved from a death-bearing bullet by a Bible over his heart, came out of the war a Captain and afterwards served in the Civil War as Colonel of a New Hampshire regiment, Captain Theodore F. Rowe, brevetted Major for gallant conduct at Puebla, Lieutenant Thomas J. Whipple of Wentworth, who served also as Colonel in the Civil War, Lieutenant George Thom of Derry, who rose to be a General in the Union Army, Captain Henry Lane Kendricks, native of Lebanon, graduate and professor at West Point, who was brevetted Major for gallant conduct in 1847, afterwards commanded a western post, was promoted to be colonel and declined a commission of Brigadier-General in 1861, returning to West Point as professor and known as one of the best beloved instructors there, and Brigadier-General Franklin Pierce, afterward President of the United States, of whom more will be said in a subsequent chapter.¹

Governor Colby was alive to the varied interests of the State. He called attention to the banking law, which he declared to be "aristocratic in its operation, and, if continued, our banks will be the most perfect monopolies that our state has ever reared. The unlimited personal liability of the stockholders forces the whole business into a sort of legalized copartnership of the rich, excluding the middling interests and others, who are the sole contributors to make up the yearly dividend which

¹ For further particulars about New Hampshire men in the Mexican War see *Military History of New Hampshire*, by Hon. Chandler E. Potter.

passes safely into the pockets of the few. . . . The revenue arising from the proper management of them should be distributed, as far as may be, among the many." He upheld the tariff as needful for the protection of American manufacturers and to secure higher wages for laborers, results at that time satisfactory to both capitalists and wage-earners. The governor, it seems, had power to order the commissioners to locate a railroad, contrary to their own convictions of the public good, and the repeal of such a law was recommended. Strict economy was urged and that all unnecessary public offices should be abolished. It is rare to find an Executive asking for a lessening of his own power, but Governor Colby wanted the people themselves to choose their own officers, unless debarred by the constitution. He was a good governor, but, being a Whig, had to be set aside by the triumphant return of the Democratic party to power in 1847, to continue to hold the reins of State government for another decade.

Chapter IX

THE ABOLITIONISTS

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THE ABOLITIONISTS.

Position of the Democratic Party as to Slavery—William Lloyd Garrison and the *Liberator*—Anti-Slavery Societies—Fifty Petitions to the Legislature—Gov. Hill on Slavery—Motion of Samuel Garfield, Jr.—Report of Special Committee—Resolutions of the House—Gov. Colby Speaks out against Slavery—Position of the Clergy—George Thompson and John G. Whittier Mobbed in Concord—Attempt to Make Clergymen Hold Their Tongues—The Northern Churches in General Opposed Slavery—Nathaniel P. Rogers—Stephen S. Foster—Hon. James Wilson—Senator John Parker Hale—Amos Tuck—“God Bless New Hampshire”—Pierce versus Hale in the Old North Church at Concord—Immortal Words of Hale—Hale the First Anti-Slavery Senator—Free Soil Candidate for the Presidency—His Eloquent Defense of Shadrach—A Moral Political Reformer of the First Rank.

FROM the beginning of our national existence slavery had been the bone of contention between the North and the South. While there were prominent men in the South, like President Thomas Jefferson, who admitted and strongly asserted the evils of slavery, yet it was considered so necessary to the southern planter, that greed could not sacrifice money to morals. The Union of the original States was formed by concessions made to the South. Slavery was held to be an institution under the control of separate States. The Democratic party of the North always supported the claims of the South, that they should be let alone and allowed to do as they pleased with their slaves. This position was reiterated in almost every message of New Hampshire's governors, after the great agitation in favor of abolition of slavery begun.

In 1831 began a new era in the history of the abolition of slavery. In that year William Lloyd Garrison established the *Liberator* in Boston, and this paper brought into New Hampshire the elements of moral strife. Slumbering humanitarianism awoke. National prosperity, questions of constitutionality, the preservation of the Union itself, were seen to be of importance inferior to the rights of man. The moral aspect of human servi-

tude overtopped all others. Societies among men, women and even children were formed all over the North for the suppression and abolition of the great wrong. To confine it within certain States was not enough; it must be blotted out everywhere and forever. There must be no compromise with this "sum of all villainies." Such was the spirit of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, organized in Boston in 1832. The following year a convention of sixty delegates from various parts of the country met in Philadelphia and formed the American Anti-Slavery Society, of which New Hampshire organized a branch in 1834. In June of that year there was a debate in Concord on the burning question, and many of the members of the legislature attended it and in consequence scattered the seeds of abolition all over the State. Petitions flowed into the House in 1838, to the number of more than fifty, relating to the abolition of slavery, signed by men and women by the thousands. All these petitions were referred to a committee, who reported that "it is inexpedient to legislate on the subject," and they postponed action indefinitely by a vote of one hundred and nine to eighty-two. The object of most of the petitions was to exclude slavery from the District of Columbia and from the newly acquired territory of Florida. Some asked that no runaway slave should be returned from New Hampshire without trial by jury, and that the prisons of the State should not be used for the incarceration of hunted slaves.

The message of Governor Hill, in 1836, is explicit on this topic. He said, "We must take things as they are,—not as we would have them." That sentiment will never do for a reformer. We must change the evils that are as quickly as possible into the things that should be. He said further, "That whites found the colored race,—fit only for servitude." The abolitionists replied that the whites stole the colored people from Africa and that some of them had been fitted for something better than servitude, and the rest could be. The governor went on with the usual talk about the kind treatment of the southern slaves by their masters and that the well-used slaves considered themselves superior to the colored persons who were free and had to support themselves. The abolitionists replied by narrations of frightful cruelties on the part of slave-drivers and of the separation of families by the slave-trade. The governor's com-

parison of the slaves of the South with the apprentices of New England was not apt, for the apprentice was sure of freedom after he had learned his trade. He apologizes for slavery, while he admits that it is an evil. The Constitution obliges us "to protect the rights which the slaveholders have in slaves. The North has no right to interfere in the domestic affairs of the South." . . . "It is not to be wondered at that the master should feel obliged to deny the slave the means of education, when he knows that teaching him to read and write will increase his ability and his inclination to do his master injury." He declares that the work of the abolitionists has retarded the thing they were seeking for fifty years. The pro-slavery advocates were then asserting everywhere that the education or the liberation of the colored people would lead to massacres of the whites. The threat of the disruption of the Union kept the Democrats of the North in the traces. The very foundations of society and civil government must not be suddenly broken up,—such was the party cry, and most of the shouters were sincere,—and mistaken.

Samuel Garfield Jr., of Langdon, introduced in the House a resolution, "That it is inexpedient to discuss the sublime merits of Southern slavery, while Northern slaves are required by their taskmasters in gloves to wear the collar and draw in traces." He was censured by vote of the House and required to apologize for his "unmanly and unjust aspersions." This shows the heat of the discussion and that well-meaning reformers sometimes use unwise language. The abolitionists perhaps employed too much words and epithets of denunciation and scorn, so natural to the lips of one whose heart is burning with moral indignation.

A special committee made a long report to the House, in 1839, in which they say, that "in some of the States the blacks outnumber the whites. They are ignorant and destitute of property. They have been slaves and they will remember it. Let them be emancipated, and they will claim the right of citizens. If denied, what follows? Civil war, the event of which must be the extermination of the blacks or of the whites. But elevate them to the rights of citizenship, place the ballot in their hands, and every election will be a question of color. Nor can the issue be at all doubtful. The Southern States would have a black Governor and a black Legislature; black Senators and

black Representatives in Congress; black Judges, and your committee fear, *black laws.*" Was this prophetic foresight of the results of post-bellum reconstruction of the South?

The House was led to pass the following resolves:

That the relation of master and slave, as established by law within the jurisdiction of any of the States, is an institution for which the State, within which it is established, is alone responsible, and with which neither Congress, nor the Legislature of any other State, can rightfully interfere.

That the adoption and prosecution of measures by individuals residing within one State, with the avowed design of overthrowing the institutions of another State, by sending emissaries, scattering documents, pamphlets or papers, within that State against the declared will of the same, is a disregard of that comity and mutual respect which should ever be cultivated among the States.

That Congress ought not to interdict the slave-trade between the States, or to abolish slavery within the District of Columbia, or the Territories of the United States.

That the resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, by which all memorials relating to the abolition of slavery, upon the presentation of the same, were ordered to lie on the table, without any further action thereon, was not an infringement of the right of petition.

That the immediate abolition of slavery, by whatever means effected, without the expatriation of the slaves, would be productive of calamities, moral and political, such as should be deprecated by every friend of humanity.

Such continued to be the spirit and utterance of Democratic governors and legislatures till, in 1846, Anthony Colby was elected by the Whigs and their friends in the legislature. In his first and only message he changes the whole tone of New Hampshire's chief executive and voices the growing protest of her people, declaring that slavery,

at variance with our declaration of liberty and equal rights, and repugnant to our moral sense, was entailed upon us by the framers of our Constitution, whose palliation for the admission of so great a blot upon our system was the weak and embarrassed condition of the country at the close of the revolutionary war. But what can be said of the present generation in the United States? Grasping territory for the purpose of increasing human misery. Texas has been annexed to the United States for no higher object than to perpetuate an institution which degrades the human race and dishonors the God of Heaven. For doing this there is no excuse that will avail for our country before a righteous Judge. Let New Hampshire wipe out the stain which has been flung upon her by party machinery, set in motion by the

Baltimore convention, whereby she has been made to act contrary to the true spirit of her original democracy, and contrary to the true feelings of three-fourths of her citizens. While we of the North are not permitted to remain in a southern State, by our agents for the purpose of obtaining justice, let us render good for evil and say to our southern brethren, of whatever rank or color, that if they come into New Hampshire they may enjoy equal liberty with us ;and if any be claimed as servants or as slaves, let a right to their services, founded on mutual contract, be shown to the satisfaction of a New Hampshire jury. If Congress have not the constitutional right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, it would look better for them to remove the seat of government to some free State.

The reason why abolitionists asked that a hunted slave should have the right to trial by jury was, that they well knew that no New Hampshire jury of twelve men would ever send a runaway negro back to southern slavery. He never entered into contract with his master. The legislature of 1846 passed resolutions in harmony with the governor's message after long debate and the use of every trick known to parliamentary tactics to block the expression of the moral indignation of the majority.

Meanwhile the friends of human liberty were increasing. Anti-slavery societies, both male and female, begun at Concord in 1834, had multiplied to fifteen in the course of the following year, and these societies were circulating such literature as the secular journals would not print, and but few of the religious newspapers then spoke out with clearness. The clergy were growing bolder, though the fear of dividing the churches constrained many to keep silent and let somebody else do their work of reform. The bread-and-butter prophets have never become extinct. When a moral question gets into politics, there are always some in the pew to cry out, that the pulpit is no place for politics, which always means, if the preacher can not re-echo their sentiments, let him hold his tongue. A few preachers led the way of reform and suffered the fate of the reformer, thus becoming bitterly critical of the churches in general. Gradually, however, the laity became educated and bold enough to sustain the champion of human rights.

In the summer of 1835 George Thompson of England, a noted lecturer on anti-slavery, came to Concord, accompanied by John Greenleaf Whittier, and was advertised to speak at the old State House, before the ladies of the Anti-Slavery Society and their friends. A mob collected, encouraged by a resolution

passed at a previous meeting of some leaders in society at Concord, and pelted Mr. Whittier with dirt. Mr. Thompson fled to the house of his host, Mr. George Kent, Jr., and thence he and Mr. Kent escaped to the woods. On assurance that Mr. Thompson would not speak in Concord the mob dispersed. However, they constructed his effigy and burned it in the State House yard. Mr. Thompson had made an address in Concord in the previous November before the ladies' society, and in spite of hisses, groans and throwing of missiles, continued his lecture to the end. The opposition published all the accusations they could rake together against the moral character of Mr. Thompson in England, personal abuse taking the place of argument and facts, as is frequent in a losing contest. It is interesting to note that in 1864 George Thompson was invited to Concord and delivered an address three hours long in Eagle Hall. At the first meeting of the New Hampshire Anti-Slavery Society, held in Concord in 1834, Dr. Nathaniel Bouton of the North church and the Rev. George Storrs of the South church identified themselves with the movement, and a committee was appointed to draw up an address to the people of the State, consisting of John Farmer, George Kent and Rufus A. Putnam. The first name on the committee insured historical accuracy and fulness. One can scarcely read that report now without feeling one's blood stirred with indignation. The horrors of the slave-trade are vividly depicted.

Anti-abolition meetings were held in several towns, addressed by such leading politicians as Governor Isaac Hill and Senator Charles G. Atherton, who introduced the "gag law" in Congress, but I have read of no Societies organized, nor associations of women, to sustain the cause of the slaveholders.

In 1841 a convention of Congregationalists and Presbyterians met in the South church, Concord, to decide on the best method for the abolition of slavery. They adopted a constitution, the preamble of which affirms that slaveholding and slave-trading are heinous sins in the sight of God and that "immediate emancipation is both the duty of the master and the right of the slave, practicable, safe, expedient and for the best interests of all parties." A society was formed, to which any member of the denominations represented was eligible, and when the constitution went forth, sixty-five Congregational ministers had

signed it, and others united with the Society soon afterward. The Methodist ministers of the North were almost unanimously abolitionists, and on the question of slavery the Methodist Episcopal Church was split asunder along Mason and Dixon's line. It is true, as Garrison wrote, that Professor Moses Stuart of Andover Theological Seminary found slavery in the Decalogue, and some students in that institution were disciplined and left the seminary because of their advocacy of abolition of slavery. Bishop Hedding of the Methodist Episcopal Church, President Lord of Dartmouth College and Rev. Nehemiah Adams are enumerated by Garrison as among the opponents of the cause of the abolitionists, but before 1840 the majority of clergymen in the North were foes of slavery, though many of them thought it not expedient to speak out in their pulpits, lest their flocks should be divided. The cry, "No politics in the pulpit," shut their mouths. Only a few were ready to take the prophet's reward, though after the Emancipation Proclamation all claimed that they were always in favor of the liberation of slaves. Men like Stephen S. Foster, Parker Pillsbury, Wendell Phillips and William Lloyd Garrison assailed the churches bitterly for their apathy and lack of support and open advocacy of letting the institution alone. Phillips said in 1853, that "in some towns large societies were formed, led by most of the clergymen, and having almost all the church members on their lists. In those same towns now you will not find one single abolitionist of any stamp whatever." Why this falling away of the ministers and church members? Because the division was breaking up the churches and endangering ministers' salaries. A few rich Democrats in a church,—and there were a very few in many of the churches,—could say, "If abolitionism is preached, then I will neither go to church nor help to pay its expenses." Thus they held the balance of power and silenced the timid and penurious. Reforms cost sacrifice, and not all the professed followers of Jesus are willing to "lay down their lives for the brethren." Nevertheless it was the members of the Christian churches in the North, who by voice and vote sustained the movement for abolition. The refusal of a few to co-operate, or even of the majority at the beginning of the reform, is not evidence sufficient to condemn the whole church, as the language of some abolitionists too plainly states. The abolition campaign was not

confined to church or denomination; neither was it the secular work of those not affiliated with the churches. All lovers of mankind, all friends of liberty, equality and justice, were gradually swept into the movement and swept along by it. It was a great revival of national righteousness.

Among the early abolitionists of New Hampshire was Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, born at Portsmouth June 3, 1794. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1816 and practiced law in his native town till 1838, when he edited at Concord an abolition paper, called the *Herald of Freedom*. He also contributed to the New York *Tribune*, under the name of "The Old Man of the Mountain." Later he was a member of the Non-Resistance Society. On one occasion a speaker in a public assembly declared, in answer to an inquiry, that he would take human life, "if God commanded it." "Well," replied Rogers, "I wouldn't." This shows the moral fibre of the man. There is a higher law within, to be obeyed sooner than any supposedly miraculous command of God. Mr. Rogers gave an address before the Female Anti-Slavery Society, at Concord, in 1837, which was published. In it he said:

American slavery is the crime and curse of the whole land. Its root and life principle are in the North. The tree not only overshadows the North, but its roots run up here and are intertwined among the rocks of the soil of freedom. Here it derives its nutriment and here it must be overthrown. It must fall by the axe of Free Discussion. This mighty and peaceful weapon everybody can wield. It is this that Slaveholding dreads, and begs you, commands you not to take up. The South asks the North to sustain her slave system by its silence. She says to us—all we want of you, is that you keep still and hold your peace. We don't want to hear you talk on this subject in our ears. You disturb our tranquility and agitate us. We can't discuss the subject—we can't allow you to discuss it—it must not be discussed. . . . Treat the free negroes as you have done—promote colonization to drain off as many of them as you can, out of sight of our slaves, and out of sight of the conscience of your church, and we will take care of slavery. . . . You don't know how to talk on this "delicate subject" . . . The field for the great conflict that must liberate the slave is the northern church meeting and the northern prayer meeting. . . . Break up the church's criminal silence on the subject of this heaven-daring abomination, and the foul system perishes in the light of truth.

The whole address shows Nathaniel P. Rogers to have been a man of brains, heart and eloquence. Nothing could be said against his blameless and peaceful Christian life.

Stephen Symonds Foster was another abolitionist, who made himself felt not only in New Hampshire but throughout the North. He was born in Canterbury, November 15, 1809. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1831 and studied for the ministry in Union Theological Seminary, but never entered upon his chosen profession, because he was not allowed to preach the abolition of slavery in the pulpit. He was also an advocate of peace and attacked the church, because it sanctioned slavery and war. He published a pamphlet, in 1843, entitled, "The Brotherhood of Thieves, a True Picture of the American Church and Clergy." One of his singular ways of arousing public interest in the anti-slavery cause was, to enter a church on Sunday and at first opportunity begin to pray or exhort on his favorite topic, claiming the liberty of prophesying in a known tongue. For such conduct he was cast into prison more than a dozen times. Both the North church in Concord and the South church forcibly expelled him, causing in the latter case injuries that confined him for weeks. His manner and tone were inoffensive, and nobody doubted his Christian spirit and conscientiousness. He seems to have adopted this method, which proved almost as effective as John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, to stir up the dormant moral feeling of the North, somewhat as the suffragettes of England shock and frighten the public into listening and reading, by violent conduct, since otherwise the papers would publish nothing about the reform they advocate. It is not, perhaps, the wisest way of pushing forward a reform, unless it is the only way, and of that other people may be better judges than we. When people will not give ear to the voice of the prophet, he is forced to resort to unusual means to gain attention. Something before unheard of wakes the sleepy up. Nearly all prophets and reformers have been original in their methods; the burning zeal within impels them to give it strange outlets. Let not the dull and unemotional judge them harshly. Stephen S. Foster married a quakeress reformer, as zealous as himself, and together they traveled and preached the Gospel of freedom and peace. He died near Worcester, Massachusetts, September 8, 1881. It is written of him, that "probably he encountered more mob opposition and violence than any other agent ever in the anti-slavery lecturing field, and almost always he would in some way obtain control of his opponents." The poet Lowell

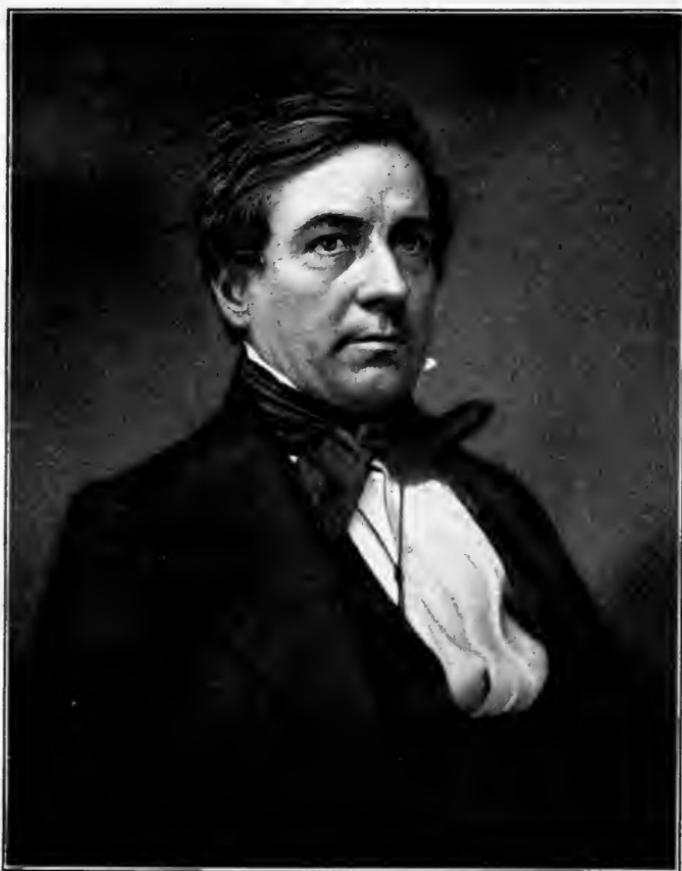
called him "a kind of maddened John the Baptist." While a student in Dartmouth College he was imprisoned, because he would not perform military service. He got printed such a description of the filthiness and unsanitary condition of the prison, that a reform was soon instituted. A prison had no more terrors for him than for St. Paul.¹

The Hon. James Wilson of Keene rendered good service to the cause of anti-slavery in the national House of Representatives, in 1849. Near the end of a long, printed speech he said:

Gentlemen need not talk to me, or attempt to frighten me, by threats about the dissolution of the Union. Sir, I do not permit myself to talk or even think about the dissolution of the Union; very few northern men do. We all look upon such a thing as impossible. But, sir, if the alternative should be presented to me of the extension of slavery or the dissolution of the Union, I would say, rather than extend slavery, let the Union, aye, the universe itself be dissolved. Never, never will I raise my hand or my voice to give a vote by which slavery can or may be extended. As God is my judge I cannot, I will not, be moved from the purpose I have now announced.

But of all the abolitionists of New Hampshire the one who has reflected most honor upon his State was John Parker Hale. At first a Democrat, he was forced into the ranks of the Free Soil party by his natural repugnance to slavery. He was born in Rochester, March 31, 1806, and graduated at Bowdoin College in 1827, having for college mates, Henry W. Longfellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne, William Pitt Fessenden and Franklin Pierce. He read law with the Hon. Daniel M. Christie of Dover and opened an office in that town in 1830. Soon he found himself in the State legislature and a little later in the national House as a Democrat, though his first election to office was on a workingmen's ticket. In 1835 he was almost a persecutor of abolitionists, a sort of Saul of Tarsus, but the Lord had mercy on both because of their ignorance through unbelief. Mr. Hale knew truth when he saw it and followed it unflinchingly. He and "Black Hannibal Hamlin" of Maine stood alone and together in the Democratic ranks in Congress in defense of human freedom. He earned the epithets of "Democratic

¹ See a biographical sketch of Stephen S. Foster, by Parker Pilsbury, in the Granite Monthly, Vol. V., pp. 369-375.



JOHN P. HALE

Boanerges," and "Granite State cataract" by his denunciations and vehement eloquence. After long effort he secured the passage of a bill abolishing flogging in the navy. The Democratic party of New Hampshire had been opposed to the further extension of slavery, affirming that it was an evil that ought to be checked. The annexation of Texas changed the attitude of most of the leaders in that party. They became obedient to the southern directors of their party and counseled silence and non-interference. Mr. Hale published a letter to his electors, in which he strongly opposed the admission of Texas into the Union, because it would increase slave territory. In so doing he broke with the new Democratic party, while advocating the principles of the old. He stigmatized the measure as "calculated to provoke the scorn of earth and the judgment of heaven." For this the Democratic party attempted to throw him overboard as a political Jonah, but there was a split in the party, and the Independent Democrats rallied around the standard of John P. Hale. A convention, called by Amos Tuck of Exeter and John L. Hayes of Portsmouth, met at Exeter February 22, 1845, and organized under the name of Independent Democrats.² Soon a paper was published by that name. An address to the people of New Hampshire was scattered throughout the State. John P. Hale and others lectured here and there in the effort to arouse and shape public opinion against the further extension of slavery. This split within the Democratic party, begun in Exeter in 1845, was made by the thin edge of the wedge called the Free Soil party, organized under that name in 1848, when they nominated a national ticket at Buffalo. It was the noble stand taken by Mr. Hale and his associates that called forth the poem of John G. Whittier:

God bless New Hampshire—from her granite peaks
Once more the voice of Stark and Langdon speaks.
The long-bound vassal of the exulting South
For very shame her self-forged chain has broken,—
Torn the black seal of slavery from her mouth,
And in the clear tones of her old time spoken.

The political contest of 1845 was an animated and strenuous one. Old Democrats, Independent Democrats and Whigs were

² The Free-Soil Movement in New Hampshire, by John L. Hayes.

in the field, contending for the mastery. Franklin Pierce as the leader of the old Democrats went through the State, marshaling his forces and winning newspapers to his aid. John P. Hale, backed by the convention at Exeter and many resolute men, was equally industrious and, moreover, was impelled by moral earnestness. On the week for the assembling of the legislature, in June, it was arranged that Mr. Hale should set forth the principles of his party in the old North church at Concord. The people thronged the church before the appointed hour, so that the streets were deserted, and Mr. Hale was depressed in spirit on his way to the church, fearing a thin audience and a failure. His feelings, as expressed to Hon. Henry P. Rolfe many years later, have been put on record. "I was gloomy and despondent, but kept my thoughts to myself. As we turned around the corner of the old Fiske store, and I looked up and saw the crowd at the doors of the old church surging to get in, the people above and below hanging out of the windows, first a great weight of responsibility oppressed me, and in a moment more an inspiration came upon me, as mysterious as the emotions of the new birth. I walked into the densely crowded house as calm and collected and self-assured as it was possible for a man to be. I felt that the only thing I then wanted—an opportunity—had come, and I soon gathered that great crowd into my arms, and swayed it about as the gentle winds do the fields of ripening grain. That inspiration never for a moment left me. It followed me over the State, during the ensuing campaign, into the senate of the United States, remained with me there, and subsided only when the proclamation of President Lincoln declared that in this land the sun should rise upon no bondman and set upon no slave; and now when I turn my eyes heavenward, I can in imagination see hanging out from the battlements of Heaven the broken shackles of four millions of slaves, which for nearly twenty years I did all in my power to rend."

Mr. Hale spoke for two hours, knowing that he was addressing not only the citizens of Concord but also representatives from every part of the State. It had been arranged that Franklin Pierce should reply to him on the spot, and he held the audience for another hour with oratory that was bitter and sarcastic in tone and matter. His manner was that of the irritated partisan, who feels himself to be already defeated. Mr. Hale sat in a

front pew and listened in silence to the almost insulting denunciations of an old college friend. In a brief rejoinder he stood upon the pew and closed his argument with words that have made him forever honored: "I expected to be called ambitious, to have my name cast out as evil, to be traduced and misrepresented. I have not been disappointed; but if things have come to this condition, that conscience and a sacred regard for truth and duty are to be publicly held up to ridicule, and scouted without rebuke, as has just been done here, it matters little whether we are annexed to Texas, or Texas is annexed to us. I may be permitted to say that the measure of my ambition will be full, if when my earthly career shall be finished and my bones laid beneath the soil of New Hampshire, when my wife and children shall repair to my grave to drop the tear of affection to my memory, they may read on my tombstone, 'He who lies beneath surrendered office, place and power rather than bow down and worship slavery.'"

These were noble words and have been fitly put upon his monument in the State House yard, a perpetual object lesson to teach the sacredness and pre-eminent right of human freedom as well as the manliness of a fearless utterance of conscientious conviction. The feeling with which he spoke and that impelled him in his subsequent career is as fine an illustration of prophetic inspiration as can be found in Hebrew history. Such inspirations can be felt only by those who are divinely assured that they are aiding a righteous cause.

In the political contest that followed there were three candidates in the field, representing three distinct parties. There was no election in September, and a second trial in November had a like result. In the March following the issue of no more slave territory was put before the people more plainly and fully than ever before, and the result was a complete, but temporary, overthrow of the Democratic party. Mr. Hale was elected representative from Dover to the lower house of the State, as an Independent Democrat and was chosen Speaker of that body. During the session he was elected United States senator for the full term of six years. Here he was alone among thirty-two Democrats and twenty-one Whigs, opposing every movement for the extension of slave territory, fighting the fugitive slave law, calmly and courteously replying to the insults of senators

from the South. He was joined soon by such men as Chase, Hamlin and Sumner from the North. He was the leader of the forlorn hope of Anti-slavery in congress and of the Independent Democratic party, which prepared the way for Free-Soilers and the Republicans. At the expiration of his first term of office he planned to take up the practice of law in New York, but was recalled to the senate in 1855, to fill out the vacancy occasioned by the death of Senator Atherton, and he was re-elected for a full term in 1859, thus serving sixteen years in the senate, during which time he saw the fulfillment of his glorious vision.

Mr. Hale declined, in 1847, the nomination as Free-Soil candidate for the presidency, but accepted the honor in 1852, when he received 155,850 votes. After his retirement from the senate he was minister to Spain for four years, a position for which he had no inclination or training. Impaired health led to his return and he died on the 19th of November, 1873.

An incident in his career deserves perpetual remembrance as illustrating the qualities of a reformer and orator. It was in 1851 and there was a court trial in Boston, occasioned by fugitive slaves. In defense of the rescuers of Shadrach Mr. Hale uttered the following words, like a sunburst from out of dark clouds: "John Debree claims that he owns Shadrach. Owns what? Owns a man! Suppose, gentlemen, John Debree should claim an exclusive right to the sunshine, the moon, or the stars! Would you sanction the claim by your verdict? And yet, gentlemen, the stars shall fall from heaven, the moon shall grow old and decay, the sun shall fail to give its light, the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll, but the soul of the despised and hunted Shadrach shall live on with the life of God himself. I wonder if John Debree will claim that he owns him then!"

New Hampshire has had other sons that have outshone John Parker Hale as lawyers, statesmen and orators, although he was eminent in law, statesmanship and oratory. As a moral political reformer he outranks all others in the Granite State. His name was a household word throughout the North during the troublous twenty years following 1845, and well the writer hereof remembers hearing it often mentioned with admiration when he was but a lad. No worthier name adorns the history of the whole anti-slavery movement, and none contributed more than he to the awakening and growth of righteous sentiment in

the hearts of millions, that led to the overthrow of the crushing curse of slavery. His spirit needs to be forever reincarnated, to give to all men their just and equal rights.³

³ The best collection of character sketches and survey of the life of John P. Hale is found in a report of the addresses delivered at the unveiling of his statue, presented to the State by his son-in-law, Senator William E. Chandler, August 3, 1892. These addresses were published by direction of the Governor and Council. The principal address, made by the Hon. Daniel Hall of Dover, is a model for condensed fulness of matter and forceful beauty of diction.

Chapter X

PERIOD OF DISCORD

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Gov. Jared W. Williams—He Warns against Control by Capitalists in Legislative Halls—His Argument for Preparedness—Visit of President Polk—Gov. Samuel Dinsmoor—Decline of the Militia System—His Attitude toward Struggling Railroads—Constitutional Convention—Proposed Amendments Rejected by the People—Contribution of the State to the Washington Monument—Gov. Noah Martin—His Pithy Political Maxims—Prosperity of the State Shown in Statistics—Number of Educational Institutions—Rise of the American, or “Know-Nothing” Party—Origin of the Republican Party at Exeter—Franklin Pierce Elected President—Gov. Nathaniel B. Baker—Gov. Ralph Metcalf—He Speaks out against the Aggressions of the Slave States—Indignation at the Assault on Charles Sumner—Legal Prohibition in New Hampshire—Alarm at the Influx of Catholic Immigrants—Fears of Foreign Domination Unfounded—Good Men Should Be Free to Go and Live Anywhere—Senator James Bell—The State Casts Its Vote for John C. Fremont—A Combination Defeats the Democrats—Gov. William Haile—Normal School Recommended—Reform School Established—The Rights of Africans Asserted by the Legislature.

AT the election of 1847 the same three gubernatorial candidates were in the field as in the preceding year, but the voters for Nathaniel G. Berry did not hold together. Nearly four thousand deserted him, to return to the Democratic ranks, and as a consequence he had to wait till 1861 for his hour of triumph, and although Governor Colby had over three thousand votes more than in the year before, Jared W. Williams was elected by a vote of 30,806, more than all his competitors.

Jared Warner Williams was born in West Woodstock, Connecticut, in 1796. He was graduated at Brown University in 1818, read law at the Litchfield Law School and settled in Lancaster in 1822, where he resided till his death, September 29, 1864. He represented that town in the legislature, 1832-7, and was representative in congress, 1837-41. After serving as governor two years he was, in 1852, appointed Judge of Probate. He was elected United States senator for the years 1853-5. In 1864 he was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention

at Chicago. Dartmouth College gave him the honorary degree of Master of Arts, and Brown University made him a Doctor of Laws.

His attitude toward slavery was the traditional one of the Democratic party of the North, admitting it to be a moral, political and social evil, opposing its further extension, advocating the Wilmot Proviso, but letting the slave-holding States alone, esteeming the preservation of the Union against Southern threats of more importance than the abolition of slavery on American soil. The Mexican war and its results were justified in his first message, and again the legislature was warned against "an improper tendency in favor of capital rather than labor, to benefit the few rather than the many; and the cause of this tendency must be found in the controlling influence of this capital in our legislative hall." Corporations had to be watched continually. Almost every governor for a long term of years warned the legislature to restrict their powers and keep them under the control of the State. They should have no more rights and privileges than private individuals and partnerships in the management of business.

The governor recommended a well ordered militia, and the adjutant-general in his annual report issued an alarming call that is of special interest today, when "preparedness" is the watchword of the hour. Here is the way he sought to frighten legislators into the adoption of strong military measures against England, whose "policy of her foreign relations has ever been violent, overbearing and monopolizing, and wherever she has trod with her iron foot, she has withered and destroyed all around. All past history is replete with the encroachment of nation upon nation, and can we expect that for our sakes the established order of things will be reversed, especially if we neglect the means of protecting and defending ourselves? Are there not despots in Europe, whose eyes would glisten with fiendish joy, to find us destitute of the constitutional power to enforce the execution of our laws, to suppress insurrections, and repel invasions? Would not such a condition invite aggression and attack? With a bare handful of an army in time of peace, and without an organized militia, who would there be to order out on any sudden emergency to man our fortifications and fill up our garrisons; to prevent the enemy from landing where he

pleased, turning the permanent defenses of the country, assailing the point at which he aimed with impunity, and with the watch cry of "beauty and booty" ransacking our houses, ravaging our fields, and burning our cities and villages?" Surely the pacifists should feel their blood curdling at the reading of such words and wonder whether the present advocates of a big army and navy have not stolen the thunder of their arguments from the records of the dim past. Nearly seventy years have passed and cruel and tyrannous England has not molested us. The North then needed to prepare for internal conflict rather than against foreign foes. Is this also true today? Let justice in legislation avert the evil.

In response to an invitation from the legislature President Polk visited Concord, arriving on the first day of July, 1847. A committee met him at Lowell and a special train was provided by the Concord Railroad. Five thousand greeted him at Manchester and the train stopped opposite the monument of General John Stark. At the railroad station in Concord he was met and escorted by the Stark Guards and the Concord Light Infantry. An arch of evergreen and flowers was erected on lower Main Street. Crowds lined the way and cheered tremendously, as a newspaper said. Seven governors of New Hampshire and other States were present. The President was entertained at the American House, made an address to the legislature and had a reception in the State House in the evening, leaving for Lowell at half past eight on the day of his arrival. The people had seen the President and some of them had heard his voice. On his way through Exeter, Newmarket and Dover to Maine many persons assembled at the railroad stations to see and hear him for a few minutes. The reception of a European monarch is a vastly more elaborate affair; in this country we honor the office to some extent, but we honor the man more—if he deserves it.

There were three candidates for governor in 1849 and Samuel Dinsmoor received over thirty thousand votes, more than the other two together. He was born in Keene, May 8, 1799, son of Governor Samuel and Mary (Reid) Dinsmoor. He graduated at Dartmouth in 1815, at age of fifteen, and thereafter studied and practiced law in his native town. For a while he was in Arkansas with the territorial governor, Gen. James Miller. He visited Paris and became well acquainted with the

French language. He served as governor the usual term of three years. Other offices held by him at different times were clerk of the State Senate, postmaster of Keene and president of the Ashuelot Bank.

Here is the way he speaks about the militia system in his first message. "The time has arrived when the system should be either abandoned altogether, as fraught with incorrigible evil, or placed upon such a footing of efficiency and respectability as to command the obedience and receive the cordial support of the people throughout the State. No one, having a regard for the dignity of the State, or wishing to hold in respect the character of our citizens, can desire to see repeated the spectacle now so commonly witnessed when the militia are called out for training and parade. It is not unusual on these occasions to see large bodies of men making a studied mockery of a public duty, furnishing a pernicious example of insubordination to the laws, and bringing into contempt the authority of the State." Like other governors he called for reform by means of new laws and reorganization.

In his second message he reaffirms the principle, that had been vigorously contested, that the State that makes a corporation has the right to control it, through their representatives. "New Hampshire has been the battle-field on which this contest has been decided, and the complete triumph here of the popular view of this question may be regarded as having fixed unalterably the policy of this State."

What he says about railroads may throw some light upon present difficulties. Up to 1850 four hundred and fifty miles of railroad had been constructed in New Hampshire, at a cost of not far from sixteen million dollars. Some of them were begun with an inadequate supply of means and were pushed forward on borrowed funds. Such were constantly struggling with financial difficulties. Their stock was depreciated, their credit was impaired, and the hopes of the stockholders for dividends were indefinitely postponed. The governor advocated publicity. The stockholders wanted to know what had been done with their money. "When there is concealment, or the suspicion of it, there will inevitably result a want of confidence." "They desire, and are clearly entitled to receive, frequent, full, intelligible and undisguised reports of the condition of their roads, which re-

ports should embrace such copious details in relation to income, expenditures, contracts and financial operations, as will enable them to judge whether there has been a judicious application of the large amounts of money placed at the disposal of their directors." At this time the salary of the president of the Northern Railroad was \$1,200, and that of the superintendent was \$2,000, while the President of the Concord Railroad received only \$1,000. Other railroads did not report such items. The Concord Railroad then paid nine per cent. dividend and had a respectable balance left. Perhaps smaller salaries for officials would help the financial condition of some railroads at the present time. In 1850 the governor had some doubt whether certain railroad enterprises in New Hampshire would ever become remunerative, yet they were a decided help to the communities they served.

In 1849 the people decided by a vote of two to one that a revision of the constitution was desirable, and a convention met at Concord in 1850 to fulfill their will. Fifteen amendments were submitted to the people by a convention that included such men as William Plumer Jr., Gilman Marston, Levi Woodbury, Ichabod Bartlett, Ichabod Goodwin, Thomas E. Sawyer, James Bell, Charles G. Atherton, William Haile, Edwin D. Sanborn and other men of note, yet every amendment was rejected by the people. Governor Dinsmoor tells us in his third message that the cost of this convention to the State was \$40,000, and the same year there was paid as a bounty on crows the sum of \$3,500. The ablest men of New York have just now (1915) proposed a revised constitution for that State, which is pronounced to be a model, yet it has been overwhelmingly rejected by the people. It takes a long time to get a new idea lodged securely in the minds of the masses. Two hundred and ninety members formed the convention of 1850, and Franklin Pierce was chairman. The convention reassembled on the sixteenth of April, 1851, and resolved to resubmit to the vote of the people three of the rejected amendments, viz., those proposing to abolish the religious test, to do away with the property qualification, and to provide a new mode for amending the constitution. At the annual town meetings, held March 9, 1852, the second of these three amendments, abolishing the property qualification, was adopted. The journal of this constitutional convention

exists in manuscript only, in the office of the Secretary of State.

The governor, in compliance with a vote of the legislature in 1849, sent a block of granite, quarried and prepared at Concord, with the name of the State inscribed upon it, to the Washington Monument Association. It is known that Durham sent a similar contribution, and probably other towns of the State did likewise.

Noah Martin was elected governor in 1852 and re-elected the following year. He was born at Epsom July 26, 1801, of Scotch-Irish descent. His father served in the Revolution. After graduating at the Medical College of Dartmouth in 1824, Noah Martin settled in Great Falls as a physician and continued in practice there nine years. Then he removed to Dover. He represented both Somersworth and Dover in the legislature and was State senator, 1835-6. He died in Dover May 28, 1863.

In reading the messages of the governors of the State one is impressed with their dignity, pithy utterance of fundamental principles of justice, breadth of political view, as well as skillful use of words. Governor Martin was not inferior to any. Here are a few of his striking sentences: "Under our forms legislation is merely the collecting of public opinion and uttering it with the solemn sanction of the people's voice, through their assembled representatives." "Agricultural prosperity, knowledge and virtue are the sustaining pillars of a republican government." Legislators "are the conservators of the public morals, individual rights and interests." "We are willing to extend the helping hand to other nations, however distant, struggling for that civil and religious freedom which is the natural right of all humanity." "The despots of Europe expect us, the only representatives of free government, to favor freedom everywhere." But he advocated the enforcement of the fugitive slave law, although it contradicted his sentiments of universal liberty. He did this, in harmony with his political party, because he thought the Constitution demanded it, and to keep in harmony with the South, so as to avoid disruption of the Union. He cautioned the legislature against the chartering of competing lines of railroad, where there was business enough for only one, but he could not see that natural monopolies should be sold or rented to corporations, rather than given by the State, and nobody then in New Hampshire raised his voice in favor of State and municipal ownership of public utilities.

The governor, in his message of 1853, gave some illuminating statistics in regard to the prosperity of the State. There were then improved and under tillage 2,251,488 acres, valued at over fifty-five million dollars. The wheat crop was 185,658 bushels, and there were produced 1,108,476 pounds of wool. There were fifty-four cotton mills and sixty-one woolen mills in the State. The average wage in the former was, for males, \$25.45 per month and for females, \$13.47 per month; in the woolen mills the average wage for men was \$22.74 and for females \$14.51 per month. How could the laborers live? The cost of rent, food and clothing was proportionally low, but it is evident that with a wage for men and women ranging from forty cents to a dollar a day not much money could be laid aside for sickness and old age. There were thirty-three banks of deposit with a capital of \$3,226,000 and sixteen savings institutions with a capital of \$2,132,218. The State had 625 miles of railroad, which had cost \$18,346,086 and were paying four and a half per cent. on investments. Railroad accidents were of almost daily occurrence, with a shocking loss of life, occasioned in most instances by "recklessness, ignorance or carelessness." The governor urged the legislature to make the railroads penally responsible for loss of life or injury through carelessness, the guilty persons to be punishable with hard labor for life.

The State then had forty-seven incorporated academies and forty-six unincorporated academies and private schools, besides two thousand three hundred common school districts. The pupils in the academies numbered over seven thousand six hundred and the common schools registered eighty-four thousand in attendance. The governor adds, that "the Bible and the statute book should be placed in proximity in every household." The State was asked to contribute towards the erection of a monument to the memory of Mechech Weare and another at Philadelphia for the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

About this time the Democratic party was having its own sweet way because of the divisions of their opponents into several small factions. The Whig party was breaking up. The Independent Democrats mustered but a small force at elections. The abolitionists were divided as to ways and means, though desiring the same ends. The Free-Soilers, formed in 1848, were

making little progress. There was too much political machinery. The old Whigs adhered tenaciously to their political organization. They were led by Ichabod Bartlett and Ichabod Goodwin of Portsmouth, Daniel M. Christie and Thomas E. Sawyer of Dover, Asa McFarland and Judge Perley of Concord, James Wilson and Levi Chamberlain of Keene, etc. For some time efforts had been made further south to build up what was afterward called an American Party, though it did not take much shape till 1854. From their habit of answering "I don't know" to questions the members of the secret and oath-bound societies, in which the party originated, were called "Know-Nothings," and the political party, which took to themselves the name American, was called by others the Know-Nothing party. At that time the potato famine in Ireland was driving many thousands to the United States. Emigrants were pouring in also from Germany, escaping from the defeated revolution there. Many feared that the naturalization and election to office of too many immigrants would endanger American institutions. They feared also the power of the Roman Catholic Church, and this may be the reason why New Hampshire in 1852 refused to abolish the religious test. In the election of 1854 the Know-Nothing party carried Massachusetts and Maryland, and it was very strong throughout the South. The mention of the party reminds us of the American Protective Association of more recent date, which sought to alarm the people against subjugation by the Roman Catholic Church. In both cases the fears were not well grounded, and it has been found that immigrants from all foreign countries unite with varied political parties according to their environment and the degree of education acquired. Our safety as a nation lies not in excluding the foreigner, but in kindly receiving and properly educating him, so that he may become a good American citizen as soon as possible. After two generations few can tell the national lineage of his neighbor. The Know-Nothing party obtained a strong hold upon New Hampshire in 1855.

There were those who recognized the need of uniting the small parties who in the main sought the same ends. Such were found especially in Rockingham county, whence Amos Tuck of Exeter had been sent several times to represent them in the House at Washington. He called a meeting for con-

ference of a few trusted persons at Exeter on the twelfth of October, 1853, at Major Blake's hotel, "to fix on a plan of harmonizing the different party organizations," that "the four parties may pull together." Fourteen persons met, among whom were John P. Hale, Amos Tuck, Ichabod Bartlett, Asa McFarland, George Fogg, David Currier, William Plumer, William H. Y. Hackett, D. Homer Batchelder, Messrs. Young and Preston. Mr. Tuck proposed that other party names should be dropped and that the united party should be called Republican, and on this name they agreed. It was a meeting privately called, and no record was kept or report thereof printed. Two months later Mr. Batchelder related the affair to Horace Greeley, while the latter was on a vacation in his native town of Amherst, and very soon, in 1854, the name of the new party was published in a letter of Horace Greeley to Mr. A. N. Cole, in the Genesee Valley *Free Press*, the pioneer Republican journal of America. The origin of the Republican party, then, may be traced back to that meeting in Exeter, October, 1853, although its origin has been claimed for Strong, Maine, in 1855, and for other States. It was a revival of an old party name and reminded some of the times of Jefferson and Madison. Most of the so-called "Jeffersonian Democrats" of 1860 became Republicans. The first national campaign of the Republican party was in 1856, and John C. Fremont was the presidential candidate. The party drew to itself Whigs, Free-Soilers, Independent Democrats and Abolitionists, in fact all who were opposed to slavery and sought its limitation or extinction in the United States.¹

The year 1852 witnessed the elevation to the presidency of the United States of Franklin Pierce as the leader of the Democratic party, triumphing over the Whig party led by General Winfield Scott. President Pierce carried twenty-seven states and General Scott only four, Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee. Another chapter deals with President Pierce's administration.

The election of 1854 made Nathaniel B. Baker governor by a slight majority over his two opponents, James Bell and Jared Perkins, and he held the office but one year. He was born in

¹ See Exeter News-Letter for August 19, 1887, Communication from D. Homer Batchelder.

Henniker, September 29, 1819, graduated at Harvard College in 1839, read law in Concord with Pierce and Fowler, and from 1841 to 1845 was one of the proprietors and editors of the *New Hampshire Patriot*. He attained the rank of colonel on Governor Steele's staff and was clerk of the superior court of Merrimack county. He represented Concord in the legislature and was Speaker of the House in 1850-51. After serving as governor one year he made his residence in Clinton, Iowa, as attorney for a railroad in that vicinity. He was adjutant-general for Iowa during the civil war. His message to the legislature follows the beaten track, rehearsing suggestions of previous governors, and adding his advice, that the recently proposed Reform School should be pushed to completion, that the Revolutionary Rolls should be securely cared for, and that the November session of the legislature every fourth year should be done away with by new laws, thus saving forty thousand dollars to the State. Also he suggests that railroads should be held financially responsible for injury done to employees.

The Know-Nothing movement went up like a rocket in 1855, electing Ralph Metcalf governor with 32,768 votes, the largest number any candidate had received up to that time. The friends of moral reform had united. Mr. Metcalf was born at Charlestown, November 21, 1793, eldest son of Hon. John and Ruby (Converse) Metcalf, descended from one of the oldest families of Massachusetts. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1823, studied law with Governor Henry Hubbard and was admitted to the bar in 1828. After practicing at Newport he was chosen Secretary of State in 1830 and removed to Concord. He was register of probate for Sullivan county, 1845-51, and chairman of the committee to compile the State laws in 1850. Newport was represented by him in the legislature in 1852-3. He was re-elected governor by the legislature in 1856, lacking a majority of the votes of the people. John Sullivan Wells was his principal opponent, and Ichabod Goodwin had over two thousand votes. In the legislature the vote stood one hundred and seventy-five for Metcalf and one hundred and fifty for Wells.

The political complexion of Governor Metcalf is shown in his messages. He took strong ground against the extension of slave territory and rebuked the Southern members of congress for their arrogance and encroachments. The attack on Senator

Charles Sumner raised a storm of indignation throughout the North and did much toward uniting the friends of human freedom. The governor says, "Another alarming encroachment of the slave power upon our free institutions and the rights of the people is the late premeditated and preconcerted attack upon the constitution of the country, the freedom of speech, and the independence of the Senate, by an aggravated assault upon a distinguished Senator, avowedly for words spoken in debate." This assault was approved by almost all the members of congress from the South, where the advocates of slavery stood solidly together and by threats of secession influenced enough voters in the North to side with them and thus keep themselves in power. The Northern States were getting more tired and irritated every year. The abolitionists advocated radical measures. If the South wanted war to confirm slavery, as many in the North were willing to have war, if necessary, to overthrow it. The New Hampshire legislature grew more bold in its resolutions and condemned the assault on Sumner in no mild terms. The conviction was growing that the South must be resisted and that slavery in a free nation could not be tolerated much longer.

Another reform entered largely into politics. Led by the example of Maine and under the recommendation of Governor Metcalf the legislature enacted a law, prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors. In his message of 1855 the governor said, "The welfare and prosperity of the State demand it; our social and domestic relations demand it; morals and religion demand it; the hopes of the rising generation demand it; patriotism demands it." In his message of the following year he declares that "in many towns the sale of intoxicating liquors is wholly abandoned and in others it is sold only as other penal offences are committed, in secret. I am not aware that there is a city or town in the State where spirituous liquors are openly sold."

The principles of the Know-Nothing party are clearly and abundantly set forth in Governor Metcalf's first message. The great influx of immigrants was spreading alarm throughout the nation, overshadowing for a time the anti-slavery agitation. Half a million were coming annually, most of them being illiterates. Many were destitute of the means of subsistence, without friends and without trades and habits of industry. They

expected to find plenty of work, high wages and liberty almost without restraint. "Too large a portion of them were emptied from the poor-houses, the hospitals and prisons of Europe, and transported here with no definite purpose, but destined to fill from want or crime similar positions to those they left at home." This was adding a great burden to American tax-payers. The adult immigrants were too old and ignorant to learn our ways, catch the American spirit, and be weaned from old habits of thought and conduct. They were in every way unfitted to become American citizens. Yet politicians then as now sought voters in doubtful elections, and there was in some places too much haste in getting the immigrants naturalized. The legislature received a communication from Rhode Island, urging that no immigrant should be naturalized till he had lived in the United States twenty-one years. The legislature of New Hampshire resolved to instruct its senators and representatives in congress to urge the passage of a new naturalization law, "which should require a previous continuance residence of not less than ten, nor more than twenty-one years in this country, to enable an alien to become a citizen thereof." The following citation from the governor's message well illustrates the religious as well as political prejudice of the times:

The religion which they have been taught from their birth, which has grown with their growth and strengthened with their strength, is a religion acknowledging a foreign power for its supreme head, teaching and requiring its adherents to passively submit their consciences to the keeping of the priesthood, to seek no higher sources for spiritual instruction and consolation than that order; a religion that excludes the Bible from the common people and allows its subjects to owe no allegiance, spiritual or temporal, to any power but what the sovereign Pontiff may, at any time and upon any emergency, annul and dissolve; a religion that pronounces all creeds heresy but their own, and boldly avows that it "flourishes most when watered by the blood of heretics." A numerous population, scattered from one extreme of the country to the other, guided and controlled by one mind, and that mind solely directed to one object, the extension of the dominion, the influence and power of the Church of Rome, and to subject to its control all other religious sects and denominations, must be a dangerous and pernicious element in a republican government. Such a population thus ignorant and prejudiced, thus illiberal and bigoted, thus controlled and directed, are now in our midst and daily increasing in alarming numbers. . . . They claim all the rights of citizenship, and not only to decide who shall make and administer the laws of the country, but claim that right for themselves, often

before they can speak the name or read it on the printed ballot, which, by order or contract, they deposit in the ballot-box. . . . The foreigner, let loose from prison in Europe on condition that he will come to America and thus free them from his troublesome, if not dangerous presence, thinks, and too often has reason to think when he arrives here, that he confers a special favor upon the country by condescending to accept of the honors of citizenship. . . . This alien element is now rapidly insinuating its wiles, maturing its schemes and extending its influence over the country, more sure of success from the very few to whom is entrusted its direction and control. With great ease and increasing numbers they are acquiring all the rights, privileges and immunities of the citizens of our native land, and in some places they are already supplanting them.

The above citation is given for the purpose of illustrating the spirit and arguments of a political party that was strong in 1855. The same spirit and arguments have been employed by a decreasing number of religionists from that time to this, but they have not entered into the platforms and legislative resolutions of political parties since the death of the Know-Nothing party. Experience has convinced most of the people in the United States that the fears of foreign domination are unfounded, that immigrants soon imbibe the American spirit and quickly learn to love and prize American institutions. The Roman Catholic population may take its religion from Rome, with many unconscious modifications, but it is as loyal to the government of the United States and of the individual States as is the Protestant population. Only the ignorant fear the ignorance of others; the well educated delight to teach and assimilate the ignorant to themselves. The United States has been and should be still more the home and refuge of the poor and oppressed of every nation and the liberal educator of all who come, in political and social morals.

As for the statement that the Bible is withheld from the communicants of the Roman Catholic Church, there has been no truth in it for many years in any enlightened country. In Italy anybody can buy for five cents a version of the New Testament authorized by the Roman Catholic Church. As for the influx of paupers and criminals the same objections are made now as then. They can not be shut out altogether, yet of the millions who are coming a very small number belong to the objectionable classes. Nearly all come to better their financial condition and to enjoy our liberty. If a few return to Europe

with the money they have gathered here, it is that they may scatter intelligence and induce others to come to this country. We should seek to hasten the day when any human being, well disposed toward his fellow men, may go anywhere he will upon this earth and be sure of finding friends.

The anti-slavery parties combined to defeat the Democrats in 1855 in the election of United States senators. Already mention has been made of the choice of John P. Hale at this time for an unexpired term. The candidates for the long term were James Bell and Daniel Clark. The former was the choice of the senatorial caucus and he was elected by the legislature. He was born at Francestown November 13, 1804, and graduated at Bowdoin College in 1822. After studying law with his brother, Samuel Dana Bell, and in the Litchfield Law School he practiced at Gilmanton, Exeter and Gilford. He sat in the legislature as representative in 1846. Through his leadership Lake Winnepiseogee was dammed at its mouth, to conserve its waters for power along its outlet. He served as senator till his death, May 26, 1857, at Laconia.

In the State election of 1857 the Democratic party, with John S. Wells as its standard-bearer, found itself opposed by a new party. The former discordant factions that had for once voted together for the Know-Nothing candidate, now presented a solid front under the name of Republicans. The State had cast its vote for the national candidate of that party, John C. Fremont, the year before. The nominee for governor in 1857 was William Haile of Hinsdale. There were but four hundred and fifty-two scattering votes, and Governor Haile was elected by a vote of 34,216, against 31,214 for Mr. Wells. The new governor was born in Putney, Vermont, in 1807. His life was spent in trade and manufacturing, yet he took an active interest in the affairs of church and of state. For six years he represented Hinsdale in the legislature and was State senator in 1854-5, presiding over the senate in the latter year. After serving as governor two years he returned to business life. He removed to Keene in 1873 and died there July 22, 1876.

Political parties then had something worth contending for. The main issues were moral in their nature. Governor Haile announced once more the opposition of his party to the extension of slavery, to the manufacture and sale of intoxicating

liquors, to the unlimited immigration of poor and ignorant foreigners, and to "a recent opinion of a majority of the judges of the United States Supreme Court, by which every individual of the African race, in the United States, may be deprived of their estates, their liberties and their families, but can have no redress, because they are not citizens." It is noticeable that he says nothing about the fear of religious domination, thus quietly ignoring the objectionable feature of Know-Nothingism.

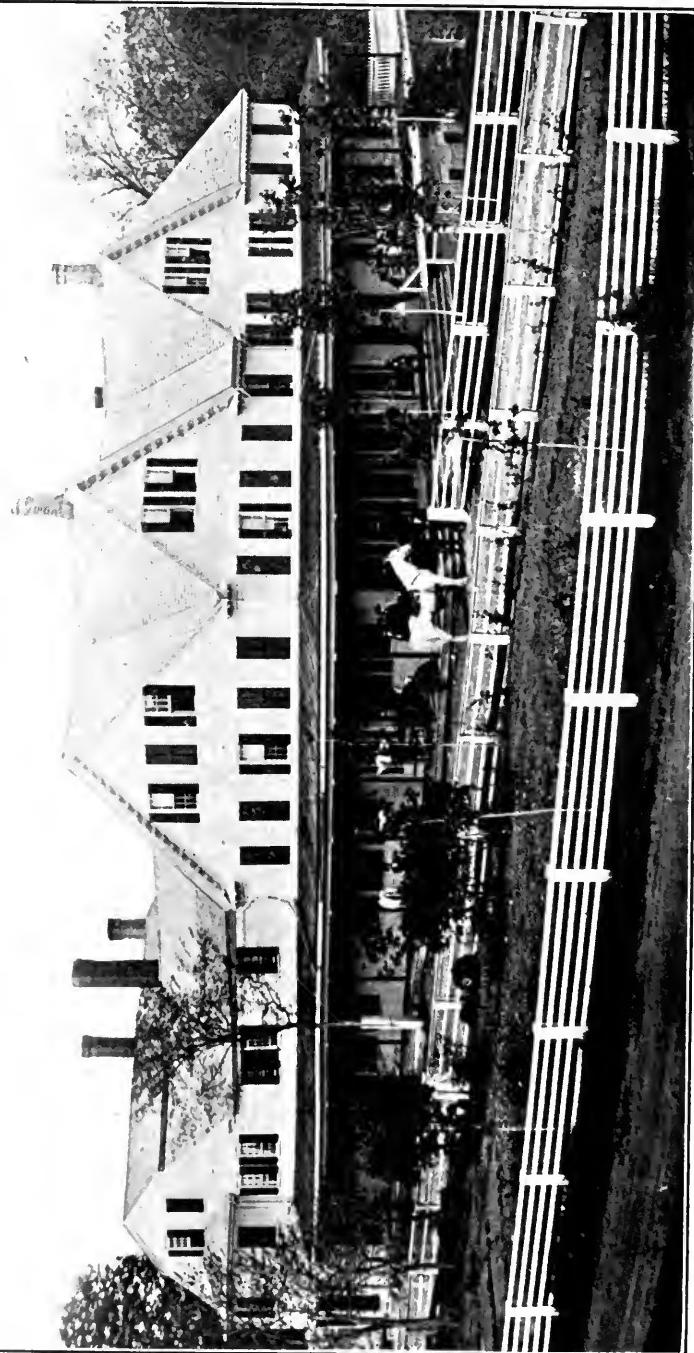
The governor recommended the establishment of a State Normal School, and the legislature waited till 1870 before his suggestion was adopted. He also called attention to the need of an Agricultural school, in connection with Dartmouth College, and nine years elapsed before such an institution was established. Since 1851 the plan of establishing a Reform School for juvenile offenders had been discussed, and in 1855 one hundred acres of the farm once owned by General John Stark, in Manchester, were purchased. A building had been constructed before 1858, suited to the accommodation of one hundred and twenty-five boys and twenty-five girls. The total cost of land, building and equipment was about fifty thousand dollars.

The legislature passed resolutions opposed to the efforts to make Kansas a slave State and to the Dread Scott decision, whereby all Africans, North as well as South, were by inference deprived of their rights of citizenship. The resolution condemns "the action of the State Department of the United States in refusing to grant passports to persons of African descent contrary to previous practice, and of the Treasury Department in refusing to grant them registers for their own vessels, with the right to navigate them as masters; and of the Interior Department in refusing them the right of entry upon the public domain to become purchasers."

Chapter XI

RAILROADS

THE FIRST PEMIGEWASSET HOUSE BUILT IN 1800, PLYMOUTH, N. H.



Chapter XI

RAILROADS.

First Railroad Chartered—The Nashua and Lowell—The Concord Railroad Corporation—It Consolidates Six Lines—A Lucrative Monopoly—The Northern Railroad Company—The Concord and Claremont—The Boston, Concord and Montreal—The Atlantic and St. Lawrence—The Eastern Railroad—The Portland and Ogdensburg—The Boston and Maine—It leases All Other Lines—Railroads a Present Necessity—Short Independent Lines Unprofitable—Competition versus Co-operation—Why Have Dividends Ceased?—Have the Roads Been Overcapitalized?—Short Lines Leased at too High a Rate—Is It Safe to Lease or Sell all Lines to One Great Company?—Is Government Ownership the Proper Remedy?—Cost of Abolishing Grade Crossings—The Public Service Commission Must Solve the Problems—The Abuse of Free Passes Removed.

A COMPLETE history of railroads in New Hampshire might fill many interesting volumes. Here can be presented only the most important facts, from which some conclusions can be drawn.

The first railroad chartered in New Hampshire was in 1832 and was called the Boston and Ontario Railroad. It was to start from the southerly line of the State, in Dunstable, and run to the westerly line, thence through Massachusetts, Vermont and New York. The project was to connect the Great Lakes with Boston, but it never materialized. In 1835 four lines in New Hampshire were chartered, and others quickly followed in the successive years. Only the main lines need be mentioned here.

The Nashua and Lowell Railroad was meant as a continuation of the Boston and Lowell. Its length was only fourteen miles, five and a quarter of which were in New Hampshire. The road was opened to travel in 1838. At that time it was contemplated to extend the road to the Connecticut river by way of Wilton, Greenfield and Peterborough, and a survey was made. The road from Nashua to Wilton was chartered in 1844 and completed in 1851. It was not till 1874 that the road from Wilton to Greenfield was built, a distance of eleven miles. The

road was extended to Keene in 1878, a distance from Greenfield of about twenty-nine miles. These roads for twenty years from 1858 were by contract jointly managed by the Boston and Lowell and the Nashua and Lowell railroads. The total cost of this line, with equipment, up to 1884 was about \$2,500,000. The Nashua and Lowell was then declaring a dividend of seven per cent.

The Concord Railroad Corporation was chartered June 27, 1835, only four days after the Nashua and Lowell. The road extends from Concord to Nashua, thirty-five miles. The construction of the road was begun in 1841 and completed in 1842. In 1870 the company leased for forty-two years the Suncook Valley road, chartered in 1863 and opened in 1869. The road extends from Suncook to Pittsfield, seventeen and a half miles. The lease called for an annual rental of six per cent. on a capitalization of \$240,000. In 1858 the Concord Railroad Company leased the Concord and Portsmouth Railroad for five years, and in 1861 a new lease was substituted, for ninety-nine years, at an annual rental of \$25,000, about seven per cent. on a capitalization of \$350,000. The lessee was to keep the road in good condition. The road connects the Concord road at Manchester with Portsmouth, forty-seven and a half miles, chartered in 1845. The Nashua, Acton and Boston Railroad, from Nashua to Acton, Massachusetts, was leased to the Concord road in 1876 for ten years, at an annual rental of \$11,000, the lessee buying the rolling stock and furniture of the leased road for \$70,000. This road was chartered in New Hampshire in 1872 and opened in 1873. The distance is about twenty miles. The cost of this road and equipment is given as \$1,043,461, and the year before it was leased the expense of running it was \$10,000 more than the gross earnings. Only five miles of the road are in New Hampshire. The Manchester and North Weare Railroad, chartered in 1846 as the New Hampshire Central Railroad Corporation, was rechartered in 1853. The rails between North Weare and Henniker were taken up and the property was purchased in 1859 at a trustee's sale by the Concord Railroad Corporation. The length of the road to North Weare is nineteen miles. The nominal capital fixed upon in 1859 was \$200,000, which must have been much less than actual cost. The Manchester and Lawrence Railroad extends from Manchester to the State line, over twenty miles through Londonderry, Derry, Windham and Salem, with

a branch to Methuen of three miles and three-quarters. This road was chartered in 1847 and was opened for passengers in 1849. In 1856 it was leased to the Concord Railroad Corporation for five years, and in 1861 the lease was extended twenty years. To meet the requirements of a law passed in 1867 the two roads were run independently in form, with two sets of books, though in reality the two lines were under one management. The annual rental was \$11,000.

Thus six railroads, chartered as independent, were in 1884 managed as one line, under the control of the Concord Railroad Corporation, which was paying a dividend of ten per cent. on a capitalization of \$1,500,000, after paying \$54,300 to leased lines. This dividend had been paid for fifteen years, and the road always kept something in reserve, for the law did not allow more than a ten per cent. dividend to be declared annually. It earned more money than it could divide. This was due to its location and the comparatively small cost of its construction. Roads north and south were feeders to this. Some years it earned thirty per cent. on its capital. Hence the money that it could not divide it expended upon a palatial railway station at Concord, costing a quarter of a million dollars, and it kept increasing the salaries of its chief officials. The salary of the president was at first \$1,000 annually, then it gradually went up to \$2,500 and then it was not reported in the printed returns, but salaries of president, treasurer and superintendent were lumped together with "clerks" and "other expenses." This road had at one time about two million dollars of undivided surplus, which ought to have been paid over to the State, or the rates should have been lowered so as to have made such earnings, or extortions, impossible. The exceptional opportunities of this road made a few men millionaires at the expense of the travelers and manufacturers and producers on the farms. The road had a lucrative monopoly. They were the *Hohenzollerns*, the high-taxers, of New Hampshire. All travelers and transporters paid them such a toll as they demanded.

The Northern Railroad Company was chartered in 1844. It extends from Concord through Boscawen, Franklin, Andover, Wilmot, Danbury, Grafton, southeast corner of Orange, Canaan, northwest corner of Enfield, and Lebanon to White River Junction in Hartford, Vermont. The distance is sixty-nine and a

half miles. The Bristol branch, chartered in 1846, extends from Franklin through Hill to Bristol and is about thirteen miles in length. It was consolidated in 1869 with the Northern Railroad, with two thousand shares of stock, making seventeen thousand shares in the consolidated line. The road to Bristol was opened in 1847 and that to Lebanon in 1848. The construction and management of this road owed much to George W. Nesmith and Onslow Stearns, who were presidents for many years.

Earlier than 1884 the Northern Railroad had leased the Concord and Claremont Railroad. The latter was chartered in 1848. It was consolidated with the Central Railroad Company in 1853, taking the title of the Merrimack and Connecticut River Railroad Company, and this became the owner of the road built in 1850 from Concord to Bradford, twenty-seven miles. In 1856 it was united with the Contoocook Railroad, chartered in 1849 and opened the same year, extending from Contoocook to Hillsborough Bridge, fourteen and a half miles. The Contoocook Valley Railroad, chartered in 1848, was sold a few years later to the Merrimack and Connecticut River Railroad. The Sugar River Railroad, chartered in 1856, to connect Bradford with the Sullivan Railroad in Claremont, a distance of twenty-nine miles, was completed in 1873 and consolidated with the Merrimack and Connecticut the following year, under the restored title of the Concord and Claremont Railroad. Thus twenty-five years after the first charter to that road six distinct roads were operated as one under the old name. The aggregate cost of these consolidated roads was about \$1,850,000, but the total cost to the Concord and Claremont Railroad, up to 1879, was \$1,126,606. A controlling interest in these six consolidated roads was, in 1873, owned by the Northern Railroad Company, who furnished all the rolling stock and managed the roads as one enterprise with itself. The Northern managed also in the same connection the Peterborough and Hillsborough Railroad, built at a cost of \$589,000 from Hillsborough Bridge to Peterborough, eighteen and a half miles, chartered in 1869 and opened in 1878. Thus the Northern Railroad system was operating in 1884 a total of one hundred and seventy-two miles. In that year it was leased to the Boston and Lowell Railroad, but the lease was declared void in 1887. The dividends of the Northern were

for a few years about two per cent. Then they rose gradually to eight per cent. and fell back to five and six. In 1885 a dividend of thirteen per cent. was declared, and in 1890 it reached thirty-one per cent. It has been a payer from the beginning. Its connection with western roads made it so.

The Boston, Concord and Montreal Railroad was incorporated in 1844. It extends from Concord through Canterbury, Northfield, Tilton, Belmont, Laconia, Gilford, Meredith, New Hampton, Ashland, north corner of Bridgewater, Plymouth, southwest corner of Campton, Rumney, Wentworth, Warren, northwest corner of Benton, Haverhill, to Wells River, Vermont, a distance of ninety-three miles. It was opened from Concord to Plymouth in 1849, to Wells River in 1853. Up to 1856 it had cost \$3,045,226. The road was in the hands of trustees in 1857-9, and was handed back to the stockholders in an improved condition. No dividend was declared till 1867. From that date till 1885 six per cent. was paid on the preferred stock. The White Mountain Railroad, chartered in 1848, was opened to Littleton in 1853. This was sold at auction in 1858 for \$24,000 and debts. Thereafter it was managed by the Boston, Concord and Montreal Railroad under a lease. The fixed rental was \$12,000. The road from Littleton to Groveton Junction, on the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad, a distance of about fifty-one miles, was completed in 1880. A branch has been built to the base of Mount Washington. These northern roads were for the accommodation of summer tourists especially. The cost of construction was great, and the road was for a long time embarrassed with debt. The Pemigewasset Valley Railroad, chartered in 1874 and opened in 1883, extends from Plymouth to North Woodstock and was further extended to Lincoln in 1895. The cost was \$541,262. It was leased to the Boston, Concord and Montreal Railroad in 1883 for ninety-nine years, at six per cent. on its cost up to that date. Thus the Boston, Concord and Montreal Railroad, in 1884, was managing one hundred and ninety-seven miles of road. The cost was close to five million dollars for the entire line. The first president of the road was Hon. Josiah Quincy, and he was succeeded by John E. Lyon. Both did much for the development of the road. It was consolidated with the Concord Railroad in 1889, under the name of the Concord and Montreal Railroad. Then the total outlay on the combined system was esti-

mated to have been \$11,142,515. When leased to the Boston and Maine Railroad the capitalization was \$11,485,500, and in 1911 it had risen to \$15,327,326.

Little need be said about the Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railroad. It has not figured in railroad controversies. It was chartered in Maine in 1845 and in New Hampshire in 1847, to extend from Portland, Maine, to Island Pond, Vermont, about one hundred and fifty miles. The line was completed in 1853 and at once leased to the Grand Trunk Railroad Company for 999 years at an annual rental of six per cent. on the funded debt and capital stock. The New Hampshire section of this road passes through the towns of Shelburn, Gorham, Berlin, southeast corner of Dummer, Stark, Northumberland, and Stratford on the Connecticut river, a distance of fifty-two miles. It pays because of its through traffic from the West to Portland, where freight is shipped to Europe. As a passenger route it has a large patronage. The pulp mills at Berlin and the summer tourists add to its revenues.

The Eastern Railroad of New Hampshire was chartered in 1836 as a continuance of the Eastern Railroad, which extends from Boston to the State line. Thence to Portsmouth is a distance of sixteen miles. The Portland, Saco and Portsmouth Railroad continued this line to Portland, making a total distance from Portland to Boston of one hundred and eight miles. On the completion of the part of the road in New Hampshire it was leased to the Eastern Railroad for ninety-nine years, for an equal division of the profits. The amount of capital stock in 1856 was \$492,500. Up to that date it had paid an annual dividend of from six to nine per cent. Thereafter for six years it paid no dividend, and then rose slowly to eight per cent, again to fall off. A compromise was effected in 1878, or modification of lease, whereby the Eastern of Massachusetts was to pay to the Eastern of New Hampshire four and one-half per cent. dividends annually on its stock for sixty years.

In 1847 the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth Railroad was leased for ninety-nine years to the Eastern Railroad in joint interest with the Boston and Maine Railroad, making a through line to Portland for both roads. In 1871 The Eastern Railroad leased the Portsmouth, Great Falls and Conway Railroad for sixty-nine years. This road extends from Conway Junction, near

South Berwick, Maine, to North Conway Junction, on the Portland and Ogdensburg Railroad, a distance of about seventy-one miles. In 1876 a compromise was made, whereby the Eastern Railroad was to pay four and a half per cent., instead of seven per cent. on the funded debt of the Portsmouth, Great Falls and Conway Railroad, amounting to \$1,000,000. The branch road to Wolfeborough and the road from Portsmouth to Dover came under the control of the Eastern system, the latter by lease in 1874, at an annual rental of six per cent. on its cost, viz., \$800,000. In 1879 the Eastern Railroad had control of four railroads in the State, of an aggregate length of over one hundred and seven miles. The road was greatly embarrassed from the year 1875 onward, and there were special acts, litigations and compromises, at the expense of the stockholders.

The Portland and Ogdensburg Railroad, in its Portland division, extends from Portland to the Connecticut river, at Lunenburg, Vermont, one hundred and fourteen miles. It was chartered in Maine in 1867, and in New Hampshire in 1869. The road was opened to Fabyan's in 1875, a distance of ninety-one miles from Portland, Maine. Thence a portion of the Boston, Concord and Montreal Railroad was used, making the total length of the New Hampshire part of this road sixty-three miles. This road cost nearly four million dollars. One of its greatest assets is its mountain scenery. It never "paid" financially. It went into the hands of a receiver in 1887 and thence passed under the control of the Maine Central Railroad, which later was swallowed up by the Boston and Maine.

The Boston and Maine Railroad was chartered in New Hampshire June 27, 1835. It was opened in 1840 from Haverhill, Massachusetts, to Exeter, and in 1841 to Dover. It extends through Atkinson, Plaistow, Newton, Kingston, East Kingston, Exeter, South Newmarket, Newmarket, Durham, Madbury, Dover, Rollinsford and Somersworth. In 1842 it was consolidated with the Boston and Portland. In 1847 the cost of the road in New Hampshire was given as \$804,455. In that year, in connection with the Eastern Railroad Company, it leased the Portland, Saco and Portsmouth Railroad. In 1871 the contract was broken by the Eastern Railroad, which paid to the Boston and Maine \$100,000 for damages in so doing. Thereupon the Boston and Maine Railroad extended its line from South Ber-

wick, Maine, to Portland, forty-two miles, completing it in 1872, at a cost of \$3,941,323. Thus there were two competing lines from Boston to Portland, a circumstance which goes far to explain the financial depression of the Eastern Railroad for some years thereafter. In 1863 the Boston and Maine took under its control by a business contract the Dover and Winnepiseogee Railroad, which was completed in 1851 from Dover to Alton Bay, twenty-nine miles. The agreement was to pay six per cent. annually on the cost, \$480,000. The cost of this road, with equipment, was returned in 1874 as \$825,000.

In 1884 the Boston and Maine Railroad leased the entire Eastern Railroad system. It went on buying and leasing railroads till in 1886 it controlled 227 miles in New Hampshire and in 1890 it had 1,122 miles of the 1,174 miles in the State, all except the fifty-two miles operated by the Grand Trunk in the northern part of the State. It had also under its control the Maine Central system, by purchasing fifty-one per cent. of its capital stock. Among the roads under its management and control is the Worcester and Portland system of which fifty-eight miles are in New Hampshire. It was opened to Nashua in 1848 and thence to Rochester in 1874. The Boston and Maine Railroad has also taken under its control the entire Fitchburg system, including the short roads in the southwest part of the State. The lease, made in 1900, was for ninety-nine years. Up to 1912 the Boston and Maine has paid large dividends, eight, nine and ten per cent., once as high as thirteen per cent. In 1912 it sunk to four per cent. Since that time there have been no dividends. The Boston and Maine Railroad owns and controls by lease 2,251 miles, having a monopoly of transportation in a large part of Maine, nearly all of New Hampshire, northern Massachusetts and much of Vermont. Besides it operates fifty miles of electric railway in New Hampshire. The capital stock of the entire system, leaving out the Maine Central railroad and its tributaries which were separated from the Boston and Maine system in —, is \$103,000,000. About \$7,000,000 must be paid annually in rentals before any surplus can be divided among the stockholders of the Boston and Maine Railroad.

Railroads, having put the turnpikes and canals out of commission in New Hampshire, are now indispensable. They must be operated, whether they pay financially or not. The post offi-

ces throughout the United States as a whole do not pay in money received for postage; it would be profitable for the nation to maintain them, if there were no receipts in money. Post offices and railroads are now public necessities, demanded by modern civilization. If necessary, the people must be directly taxed to support them. The same might be said of supplies of water and light for cities. They must be had at any cost. Whether they pay dividends or not to private corporations or into the public treasury, the people will not part with them. If private capital can not manage them and make them yield dividends, then the State or the nation must either assist the corporations in some way, as subsidies are paid to steamship lines, or the state or nation must assume ownership and manage such utilities for the public good, even at the expense of taxing the people directly for their maintenance. The people are determined to have these things somehow. Every man demands and gets a road to his door; every town ought to have within easy distance a railroad for its produce and wares. Modern civilization and economic wisdom demand it.

At first most of the short railroads did not pay dividends; business had to be developed along their routes. In Governor Haile's message of 1858 he said that of the six hundred miles of railroad in New Hampshire, "They were constructed at very great expense, but have failed, except in rare instances, to make any returns whatever to the stockholders." Therefore he recommended a modification of the law respecting their taxation.

A similar recommendation appears in the inaugural message of Governor Goodwin, in 1859. He says that there were then seven hundred miles of railroad in the State, having a capital of sixteen millions of dollars, but had probably cost over twenty millions. "A large amount of this investment is unproductive or has been a total loss to the original stockholders. Could the energetic proprietors of these useful enterprises have been satisfied with the trunk roads, and awaited a fuller development of the resources of the State to maintain them, it would probably have been wiser, in a personal point of view, and have saved many a fortune to the projectors. If they were, however, too hasty for individual good, in pushing forward this great improvement of the age, no one can doubt that a great benefit has been effected, in developing and augmenting the wealth of the State,

and the rising generation are reaping advantages which cannot well be taken from them. Should the entire capital invested be lost to the original proprietors, the value of property would be enhanced more than double the cost of the railroads. Under these circumstances should there not be some discrimination in taxation made in favor of non-paying roads?"

Short roads have been built to a waterfall with the hope of a business boom; roads have been chartered in order to create a boom, but were never built. Before the year 1883 one hundred and eight railroads had been incorporated in New Hampshire, and in that year only thirty-five of them were in operation. Some of the latter have never yielded dividends independently, yet probably it would not be well to discontinue a single mile of railroad in the State. Were a comprehensive plan for the entire State to be made at the present time, doubtless passengers and freight traffic could be accommodated with less mileage, but the saving would not be great, for nature planned the principal lines. Railroads have to be built between ranges of mountains and high hills, and along river valleys, with as few tunnels as possible, for they are costly. They can not run up hill and down like the old country roads before the hills were "baled." The railroads in New Hampshire have been wisely planned, although they were built in small sections. One section joined onto another, and railroads bearing different names really formed one continuous line, just as some of the old streets of London form a continuous avenue and for a similar reason. Tourists scarcely know when they pass from Holborn to Newgate Street, or from the latter to Cheapside. So the Nashua and Lowell, the Concord Railroad, and the Concord and Montreal, to use a modified geometrical phrase, "form one and the same *crooked* line."

Before the year 1883 it was the settled policy of the State that the short railroads should compete with one another, according to the old saying, that "competition is the soul of trade." A stringent law prevented consolidation of rival and competing lines. Thus it was thought that expenses would be kept down and that traffic would be increased by hustling. Experience convinced legislators that the short lines must be leased to the main lines, or they could not carry on business, since they were losing money all the time. Competition had to give way to co-operation. Competition means war, among nations, corporations and

individuals. One party gets ahead of the other, and this causes discontent and hatred. Co-operation means mutual helpfulness. The strong bear the burdens of the weak. By consolidation roads that could not pay dividends were made to share the surplus of more fortunate and lucrative roads. A law passed in 1883 gave permission to railroads to combine, but the supreme court, in 1887, held that the law was unconstitutional, and a new law was enacted two years later, giving authority to railroads to lease, purchase or consolidate with others. Doubtless in some cases this was so done as to enrich speculators and schemers, yet such combinations were needed for the public good. The Boston and Maine swallowed up all the other railroads, and one result was the lowering of fares from three and five cents per mile to two cents. One corporation can do the railroad business of the State better and with more economy than thirty-five corporations can. The same principle is true if applied on a still larger scale. Great railroad systems are now competing with each other for the travel and traffic of the West to Atlantic seaports. They are consolidating practically with transcontinental lines. The largest and most powerful systems seek to swallow up the smaller and weaker groups, and effort is made to keep them separate, just as was the case before 1883 in New Hampshire. The mighty tendency toward unification can not long be resisted. Fundamental economic laws are stronger than legislative enactments. In a great system it is easy to find ways to evade the spirit of a law while complying with its letter. Railroads will co-operate more and more and be conducted practically as one, whatever may be the law and the decision of the Interstate Commission. One railroad system for all the United States is the ideal, if it were managed for the benefit of the public. A system like the Standard Oil Company, while it may furnish oil at a lower price than the small competing oil companies did, creates dissatisfaction so long as it is known that a few men are getting enormously rich thereby. The railroads are a public utility. They should be of the people, by the people and for the people. So with all public utilities that can be managed economically only as monopolies. The people feel that they should own them and get therefrom all the revenues accruing. This feeling seems to be at the bottom of the growing discontent.

So long as the railroads were making money fast, distributing

large dividends to stockholders and having left a large surplus, there was no request for additional legislation or increase of rates. There comes a year, or a series of years, of leanness, when there are no dividends. At once appeal is made to legislatures and Public Service Commissions for higher rates or change of leases. Why not take of the revenues of those full years to help through the years of leanness and financial depression? Stockholders who have been getting ten per cent. dividends for many years do not excite much pity, when for two or three years the dividends run low or wholly cease.

Moreover, the inquiry naturally arises, Why have the dividends ceased? Have the roads been overcapitalized? Have they been leased at too high a rate of interest? Has the high cost of living raised prices of labor and material? Have improvements used up the earnings? Have the passenger and freight rates been too low?

Some would give an affirmative answer to all of these questions. When the capitalization of the old Concord Railroad was raised from \$1,500,000 to twice that figure, it was charged that stock was watered in order to divide a surplus of about two million dollars. The report of the Public Service Commission says that "there are certain roads in New Hampshire which present clear instances of stock watering." Improvements out of earnings, after a fair rate of dividend has been paid, should not be added to the capital stock, though this in some instances has been done. On the other hand, some roads in New Hampshire actually cost for construction more than the amount of their capitalization, so that it may be questioned whether the Boston and Maine Railroad system as a whole is overcapitalized, or is trying to pay dividends on watered stock.

That some branches have been leased at too high a rate is quite evident. They never paid before they were leased, and adding them to a system only bleeds the system. The State can afford to do this for the convenience of the public; a corporation bent on making money can not afford to carry such burdens. Some parts of a great system pay better than other parts, yet the extremities can not be cut off. They feed the trunk lines, and the little branches are needed. But they should not be paid from five to ten per cent. on cost of construction. Remote towns should be willing to sacrifice something for the great advantage

of having a railroad. Such roads are built more for the benefit of communities than to add to the revenues of corporations. The purchase of stock in such cases is a voluntary contribution to the public good, with the expectation also of increasing the value of local real estate.

But the leasing of so many railroads by one small corporation is not thought to be the best way of conducting business; and it would be far better if the lessees owned the roads operated. A leased farm or building always deteriorates, especially at the time when the lease is about to terminate. Every person will take better care of his own property than of that which he has leased for a time. He can not afford to make those lasting improvements whose benefits he will never reap. He will not, like the industrial husbandman, plant trees, a berry of which he himself will never behold. If great railroad systems are to continue, and it seems that they must become greater, then some way ought to be devised, whereby the managing corporation should legally own all that they control. Can small companies of men, continually changing in their membership, be entrusted with so great power? The welfare, almost the means of sustinence of millions of people, would be in their hands. Can States and the United States sufficiently control and regulate them? The problem has not been solved. One of two things must be done, as admitted by all. Either government must actually regulate and control railroads for the public good, with justice to owners as well, or government must take possession of all its roads and manage them as it does its post offices. Then, whether they "pay" or not, the entire people get back the worth of their money invested. A hot debate is going on as to the relative advantages of the two systems. The corporations argue for government control, and then some of them try to evade it; the people are calling more and more for government ownership of all public utilities. Instances are cited where each system is said to be a success or a failure, according to the point of view of the advocate. It is certain that there can not be a return to the original plan of small competitions.

There is a loud cry for the abolishment of grade crossings, and many who join in the clamor do not know that the execution of such a plan throughout the Boston and Maine system would cost as much as the original construction of the system,

or about a hundred million dollars; yet much has been done in the larger cities to eliminate danger by elevation or depression of tracks and the expense has been great. Many other improvements have been made in costly terminals and double tracks, that do not at once yield revenues. It might have been better in the past to have paid smaller dividends and put more of the surplus into permanent improvements, but stockholders are always clamoring for greater returns on money invested. The penny-wise policy of saving for the present proves to be pound-foolish in the long run. The long delayed expenditures have to be made, and then stockholders must patiently wait and live on the liberal earnings of the past and the expectations of the future.

The rapid rise in the cost of all material and wages seems to demand a corresponding rise in the cost of travel and freightage. The Public Service Commission are trying to adjust the railroad rates to present wise and necessary expenditures. In making purchases people should cheerfully pay what a thing now costs to make it, with reasonable compensation to the carrier. Whenever it is discovered that the stockholders of railroads are getting too great a revenue, the rates can be reduced as easily as they were advanced.

All concerned are to be congratulated that the abuse of free passes has ceased to exist. Thereby, it was charged, legislation was controlled, and a moneyed system was exalted to political power. The debate over this subject was stormy and prolonged. Justice triumphed in the end. The railroads are saving money, and legislators are likely to be less biased and more independent. The State must keep on improving its railroads and adapting them to the needs of the entire population, till the air-ship or some other invention takes their place.

Chapter XII

MANUFACTURES

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Relative Rank as a Manufacturing State—Value of Textile Output—Cotton Mills—Woolen Mills—Paper and Pulp at Berlin—Gloves and Photographs at Littleton—Stone Cutting at Concord—Granite for the Congressional Library—Red Granite at North Conway—Pink Granite at Lebanon—Extent of the Granite Industry—Other Industries at Concord—Manufacture of Boots and Shoes—Lumber—Wages Earned—Discontent of Workmen—Character of Operatives—Influence of Occupation on Character—Does Machinery Save Labor or Make More of It?—The Shop and Farm compared.

NEW HAMPSHIRE had at the last census a population of 430,572, or about thirty-seven persons to each square mile. It ranked thirty-ninth among the states and territories of the United States, while in manufactures it ranked twenty-eighth. Of natural products the State has little to work upon, save lumber and granite, and the former is fast disappearing. It takes the products of other states and works them over into finished goods for the market. The immense waterpower of the Merrimack and other rivers invites capitalists here, as well as excellent means of transportation and proximity to seaport markets. In 1909 the State had 1,961 manufacturing establishments, or factories, employing 84,191 workmen and the salaries and wages of the same were \$40,391,000. In sixty years the value of its manufactured products had increased from \$23,165,000 to \$164,581,000, or over sixfold, while during the same time the population had increased only thirty-five per cent. During the last fifteen years the increase has been very marked. Ninety-three per cent. of all persons engaged in manufactures are wage-earners. The manufacturing centers, in the order of their rank, are Manchester, Nashua, Concord, Dover, Berlin, Laconia, Keene, and Portsmouth. Small waterfalls unharnessed may be found in almost every town of the State, where once was a saw-mill or a grist-mill. The manufactures have been drawn to within easy distance of the railroads, and railroads have been sending out short

branches to extensive waterpowers and lumbering regions. Thus New Hampshire is being transformed from an agricultural into a manufacturing State.

The combined value of the textile manufactures of the State, in 1909, including cotton goods, woolen and worsted goods, and hosiery and knit goods, amounted to \$55,097,000, or one-third of the total value of the manufactures of the State. The value of the cotton goods alone was excelled only by that of boots and shoes. The first cotton mill in New Hampshire was put into operation in the year 1804, in New Ipswich, only fourteen years after the Arkwright machinery was introduced into Providence, Rhode Island. The prime mover in this industry was Charles Robbins. The first mill contained five hundred spindles which spun four and a half pounds of yarn the first day of operation. A second factory was commenced in the same town in 1807. The legislature encouraged these enterprises by granting exemption from taxation for five years, on the buildings, machinery and stock not exceeding the value of twenty thousand dollars. These two mills were in operation for some years before any other machinery was set up in the State for the manufacture of cotton yarn. The first mill spun about three hundred pounds of cotton per week at a cost of twenty-six cents per pound. All the cotton, or cotton wool, as it was then called, was picked by hand at a cost of four or five cents per pound and was distributed for that purpose among the farm houses. In 1812 a picking machine was invented. In 1820 power looms were introduced into New Ipswich for the manufacture of sheetings. Prior to that date hand-looms wove some cotton fabrics that did not find an inviting market, since nearly all cotton products were imported from England.

Benjamin Pritchard learned his trade at New Ipswich. He associated with him Ephraim, David, and Robert Stevens, and they built a small mill on the west side of the falls at Amoskeag village in 1809, in what was then Goffstown. This led to the incorporation in 1810 of the Amoskeag Cotton and Woolen Manufacturing Company. Thus were founded the textile industries of Manchester. The cotton was picked and the yarn woven in the neighborhood, and a smart weaver could earn thirty-six cents a day. In 1831 the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company was formed with a capital of one million dollars. Lyman Tif-

fany was the first president of the company, and Ira Gray clerk. The property of the old firm was exchanged for stock, and land was purchased on both sides of the Merrimack river, but chiefly on the east side, where it was more advantageous to build canals and mills. The company purchased the old locks and canals in this vicinity and soon after acquired possession of the manufacturing plants at Hooksett and Concord, thus having all the water power between Concord and Manchester with extensive lands adjacent. A stone dam was built at Manchester to replace the old wooden one. A city was laid out and building sites commenced to be sold in 1838. A site and mill privilege were sold to a company that erected the Stark mills. Soon followed machine shops, foundry and a plant for the manufacture of locomotives. The growth of the city has been rapid. Two of the largest cotton mills in the world are here, and yet the value of boots and shoes made in Manchester is greater than that of its cotton products. It is the largest city in the State, and twenty-eight per cent. of all the manufactures of the State are reported from Manchester, which has thirty-one per cent. of the number of wage workers, numbering nearly twenty-five thousand persons. The value of its annual products is nearly \$47,000,000.

The Merrimack river, in its fall of five hundred feet from Lake Winnepiseogee to the sea, is said to turn more spindles than any other river in the world. Nashua ranks next to Manchester in the manufacture of cotton goods. The Nashua Manufacturing Company was chartered in 1823, with three hundred shares of stock at \$1,000 per share. It had permission to increase its capital to \$1,000,000. Daniel Webster subscribed for sixty shares, but they were bought by a wealthy family of Boston. The leading men of the company were Daniel Abbott, Joseph Greeley and Moses Tyler. A canal was built, three miles long, forty feet wide and ten feet deep. The fall of water is thirty-six feet. The Jackson Manufacturing Company was organized in 1828, with mills on the lower falls. These two companies have built extensive cotton mills. Two mills in 1828 ran 18,500 spindles and 540 looms. Nashua had at the last census (1909) 7,312 wage earners and the value of their products was \$17,326,134. Here also are large factories for the manufacture of boots and shoes. Foundries and machine shops employ many workmen.

In Dover the Cochecho Manufacturing Company did a large business in making cotton goods, and the American Woolen Company had extensive mills on Bellamy River falls. The latter business was begun by Alfred I. Sawyer, who came to Dover from Marlborough, Mass., in 1824, and established the Sawyer Woolen Mills. Dover has fifty manufacturers of various kinds employing over three thousand wage earners. Over six millions of capital are invested, and the annual pay roll amounts to one million, five hundred thousand dollars.

The Salmon Falls Manufacturing Company, in what is now Rollinsford, was incorporated in 1822 for the manufacture of cotton, woolen and other goods. It is still doing a large business, with over fifty thousand spindles.

Cotton mills are in operation in Exeter, Suncook, Jaffrey, Newmarket and other towns. All such mills in New Hampshire consume 136,801,463 pounds of cotton annually, less than one per cent. of it being imported. The large number of cotton mills built in the South since the Civil War have not injured the manufacture of cotton fabrics in New England. Rather the industry never was so prosperous as now. Water power at some distance from seaport has very little advantage over steam power near a harbor. Foreign markets have opened to our manufactures. The heathen are now clothed and are coming to their right mind. In 1909 the total cost of material used in the cotton industry in New Hampshire was \$19,123,850, and the value of the products was \$33,601,830.

The Newmarket Manufacturing Company has been operating many years. It has six mills and turns 70,000 spindles, producing 300,000 yards of cloth per week. The company employs fifteen hundred operatives and the monthly pay roll is about forty thousand dollars.

The woolen mills of the State produce about twelve million dollars' worth of all-wool goods annually. The industry runs 193,000 spindles and over four thousand looms. More imported wool is used than domestic. The use of shoddy is decreasing, and also the manufacture of worsted goods.

The woolen mills at Milton employ one hundred and seventy-five operatives, producing annually about 400,000 yards of cloth and about 30,000 blankets. Laconia is the principal seat of the manufacture of hosiery, there being ten or a dozen firms that

carry on that business. The place has forty-three manufacturing establishments in all and employs 2,250 workmen. Over \$3,000,000 are here invested.

Keene has a great variety of industries, over sixty, none of them very large, yet 1,800 wage earners find employment.

Portsmouth has over \$3,000,000 invested in thirty-six industries and gives employment to a thousand wage earners. Here the manufacture of ale gives the city an unenviable distinction in which no other place in the State shares. The proximity of the United States Navy Yard furnishes employment to many workmen of Portsmouth.

Berlin is the center of the pulp and paper industry. New Hampshire ranks eighth among the States in the manufacture of paper and wood pulp. Spruce is used almost exclusively, except balsam fir. This industry uses 349,997 cords of wood annually. Materials costing about \$10,000,000 have about \$4,000,-000 added to their value in the process of manufacture. For newspapers alone the mills of New Hampshire grind out 120,-000 tons of paper every year, and 14,000 tons more for book paper, and 50,000 tons for wrapping paper. Berlin has \$13,000,-000 invested in manufactures and the value of the annual products is about \$6,000,000.

For many years Littleton carried on a large business in the making of scythes, axes and tools, and more recently in the manufacture of carriages and sleighs. The principal business, however, is the manufacture of gloves, and the product has been as high as 82,000 dozen of pairs in a year. Plymouth also has had an extensive glove industry. The Stereoscopic View Company of Littleton has printed in a single year five million photographs. It employs two hundred and seventy-five wage earners.

Concord is credited with one hundred and eleven manufacturing establishments, employing 2,693 wage earners. The capital invested is \$5,574,000 and the value of the products is \$6,476,000. The chief industry is the quarrying and cutting of granite, of which Rattlesnake Hill produces a very white variety, easily worked, adapted to massive buildings or to sculpture, durable and beautiful. It has had a reputation throughout the nation for many years. The first building of importance erected from Concord granite was the old state prison, in 1812. The State House soon followed, built in 1816 from stone prepared by

convicts in the prison. The quarry operated by Luther Roby and William Green was in the rear of the new prison and has been filled in. It was known as the Summit Ledge and was acquired in 1834. Mr. Roby also opened the quarry afterward operated by the Granite Railway Company, at the top of Rattlesnake Hill, not far from the village of West Concord. From the latter quarry were taken the massive pillars that adorn the front of the State House, the City Hall of Boston, the Charter Oak building in Hartford, Conn., the German American Savings Bank in New York, the Equitable and the Staats Zeitung building in New York.

Thomas Hollis of East Milton, Mass., grandfather of Senator Hollis, was at one time agent of the Granite Railway Company and later operated what was known as the Hollis quarry. The quarry is situated between the main road and the Granite Railway quarry. The Ether Monument in the public garden at Boston came from this quarry, Thomas Hollis being the contractor. The statue of the Good Samaritan, which surmounts the monument, is considered one of the finest pieces of granite statuary in the world, and was shipped in the rough from Concord to the home of Garret Barry in West Quincy, Mass., who spent three years on its sculpture.

The Fuller quarry, about four hundred yards south of the Granite Railway Company's quarry, and about the same distance from the highway, was bought in 1882 by Sargent and Sullivan. This last named firm furnished the stone for the post office and court house in Concord and the post office and soldiers and sailors' monument in Manchester. To the south of the Fuller quarry about three hundred feet is the Blanchard quarry, operated by Mr. David Blanchard for a number of years, and which produced a fine grade of granite. From this quarry was taken the stone for the Hannah Dustin monument on the island. A block of granite was sent to Lowell and the statue was chiseled there. The rest of the monument was cut in Mr. Blanchard's yard. The Donagan and Davis quarry lies close to the Blanchard quarry, and was operated by James A. Donagan and George H. Davis, who were largely engaged for years in both quarrying and cutting. Messrs. Runals, Davis and Sweat of Lowell, Mass., operated the quarries to the southwest of the Donagan and Davis quarry. The Masonic Building in Boston, corner of

Tremont and Boylston streets, came from this quarry. To the south of this quarry and about two thousand feet from the State Prison is the quarry known as the New England Quarry, No. 1. It was first brought into extensive operation by the Concord Granite Company, with Mr. E. C. Sargent of Quincy, Mass., as agent. The Custom House at Portland, Maine, the Suffolk Savings Bank, the Massachusetts Historical Society Building, the Lawrence and Rialto buildings on Devonshire street, Boston, were furnished by Mr. E. C. Sargent from this quarry.

After the death of Mr. Sargent the property of the Concord Granite Company was purchased by Sargent and Sullivan, who a few years later transferred it and also the so called Fuller quarry to the New England Granite Works, of Hartford, Conn. Mr. James G. Batterson, president of the company, secured the contract for the cut stone work of the Congressional Library in Washington, D. C. This contract was probably the largest of its kind ever made in the United States, the amount being close to \$1,300,000, and it is considered as fine a specimen of granite as a building material as can anywhere be seen. It required about six years to furnish the cut stone, and during that time the company averaged over three hundred men on its pay roll per month and expended in wages in Concord at least \$1,000,000. It was shipped by rail to Washington at a cost of \$3.60 per ton and required about twenty-two hundred cars to convey it. The granite in the exterior of this building, including the main entrance, but not the approaches, measures about 350,000 cubic feet. Mr. Batterson was a man of large business ability, who had traveled extensively in Europe and Egypt and became convinced that American granite was the best material for the construction of durable and characteristic buildings in this country. He was a just and liberal employer and did much for the granite industry in Concord. The building of the New Hampshire Historical Society, certainly the finest in the State and one of the handsomest and most costly for its size in the United States, and also the Christian Science Church in Concord, the gift of Mrs. Eddy, got their granite from New England Quarry, No. 1. The sculptured group over the entrance to the building of the New Hampshire Historical Society is worthy of more than a passing notice; it came from John Swenson's quarry.

Southeast of the New England Quarry, No. 1, and about

two thousand feet distant, in a right angle line from the main highway about half a mile, is the Anderson quarry, operated many years by Mr. Ola Anderson. The Soldiers' Memorial Arch in Concord came from this quarry.

The addition to the New Hampshire State House, erected during Governor Quinby's administration, is of Concord granite, furnished by the John Swenson Granite Company, which firm for a number of years has been the largest producer of Concord granite. This stone came from the Sheldon quarry so called. Mr. Swenson now owns this property and also the Hollis quarry heretofore mentioned.

For about a century soapstone of an excellent quality was quarried at Francestown. It was easily worked and was used for making stoves, floors, sinks, mantels, pencils, etc. Six thousand tons have been sold in a single year and the price has been as high as thirty-five dollars per ton. This quarry is not now operated, and it is said that the vein of soapstone is exhausted.

At North Conway are extensive quarries of reddish granite, closely resembling the famous Scotch granite. It is very hard and suited to massive buildings. Side by side in the same quarry with the red granite is found a vein of granite, which when polished has a greenish-gray color. The body of the New Hampshire State Library at Concord is of North Conway granite, with trimmings from Sheldon quarry, of Concord, and the polished pillars at the entrance are beautiful specimens of the granite of greenish hue, from North Conway.

At Milford, New Hampshire, an extensive granite business is carried on, chiefly in the monumental line. The large granite columns in the Treasury Building at Washington, which replaced the former brownstone columns, were cut in Milford.

At Fitzwilliam are a number of quarries of very white granite which is used extensively for monuments and tombs.

There is a beautiful pink granite quarried at Lebanon, not far from Dartmouth College. Some of it is used in the college buildings, and there is a considerable quantity of it found in Boston. It is owned by the Pigeon Hill Granite Company of Rockport, Mass.

The granite industry is peculiar to the Granite State, and the city of Concord unintentionally advertises it by its liberal use of granite in street curbings and fencing for front yards. Rough and cut granite may be seen where other cities might employ

brick, concrete or nothing at all. If transportation were less expensive, Concord granite would be found more plentifully outside of the State. There are in all about one hundred establishments in New Hampshire that quarry and shape marble and stone. These employ twenty-five hundred workmen. The capital invested is \$1,721,000, and the wages paid annually amount to \$1,062,000.¹

One of the foremost industries of Concord is that carried on by the Page Belting Company, inaugurated in 1871 by the brothers, George F. and Charles T. Page. The business has steadily grown till it now employs about two hundred workmen. It works up sixty thousand hides in a year and sends its products wherever in the civilized world belts are used. The capital is half a million dollars. To be compared with this is the I. B. Williams and Sons belt factory in Dover, which does two million dollars worth of business annually.

Other notable business enterprises of Concord are the silver factory, begun over sixty years ago by William B. Durgin in the manufacture of silver ware and which has grown to a large establishment, employing over two hundred artisans; and the Rumford Press, which does a lot of fine work in the printing of books, state documents, etc. It is the largest printing house in the State.

The manufacture of boots and shoes has been, in some years, the largest industry in the State. In 1909 it employed fifteen thousand workers. The capital invested was \$12,700,000 and the value of the output was nearly \$40,000,000. The centers of this industry have been Manchester, Nashua, Exeter, Dover, Portsmouth, Farmington, and in numerous towns a factory has been built and operated irregularly, according to inducements offered by towns in the way of free rental and freedom from taxation

¹ The information here given about Concord quarries has been taken with but little change from an article by Mr. Timothy P. Sullivan, of the former firm of Sargent and Sullivan, in the Stone Trade News of October 15, 1896, supplemented by later news obtained in personal conversations. Under his guidance the writer hereof spent an instructive afternoon in visiting the quarries of Rattlesnake Hill, Concord. Mr. Sullivan is a native of Ireland, came to New England in early youth, learned the trade of a stone-cutter, and has grown up with the business to be a contractor and inspector, having expert knowledge of works in stone, which he has obtained by wide reading and personal experience. He illustrates what America can do for Irishmen and what Irishmen can do for America.

for a term of years. Such efforts to build up small places and rent empty houses have not succeeded very well. They lack permanence. There are nine establishments in the State, where leather goods are produced. These furnish work for three hundred persons.

Although there are but four establishments for the manufacture of malt liquors, they employ a capital of \$2,642,000, with only two hundred and seventy-two wage earners. They are said to add over a million dollars in value to the material used, but the temperance people say that instead they turn a blessing into a curse, bringing riches to a very few and poverty and woe to many.

There are twenty-nine creameries for the making of butter, cheese and condensed milk, notwithstanding extensive milk routes spread out over the State and railroad trains gather up from the farms milk for the Boston markets. The value of the creamery products amount to \$807,000, of which sum \$98,000 is added in the process of manufacture.

Limited space forbids more than a condensed statement of the leading manufacturing industries of the State. It is seen that the cotton and woolen mills, and the boot and shoe factories employ the most men and money, yet the hundreds of small shops, that turn out carriages, clothing, boxes, brooms, and many useful articles, are worth full as much to the State as the big mills and factories. The small, portable saw-mills especially do a large business. The lumber and timber industries number five hundred and eighty-nine and employ over eight thousand workmen. The value of their products is over \$15,000,000 annually.

The census of 1909 shows that there were 1,265 salaried officers in all the manufacturing establishments, such as superintendents and managers, as well as the officers of the companies. All together were receiving \$2,435,129, or an average of \$1,965 each, and since the president, secretary, treasurer, etc., of large corporations receive the lion's share in the way of salaries, the pay of the superintendents and managers must average considerably less than the figure just given. The wage earners numbered 78,658 and they received together \$36,200,262, or an average of \$460 annually. Of course some received much more than this amount, and many received much less. An average of less than ten dollars a week is not a living wage during the

times since 1909, considering the ever increasing cost of living and demands and cravings produced by a growing civilization. Few persons have the philosophical content of the Athenian sage and are thankful that there are so many things for sale that they do not want. Naturally each person craves every good thing that his neighbor enjoys and asks why it is that he can not have it. Convinced that he is not getting a fair share of the profits of his own labor the operative joins a Labor Organization. There are about a score of them in every populous city of the State. All classes of workmen are banded together under the oversight of a State Federation of Labor. They are claiming more and more clearly and loudly their rights, employing strikes as a last resort to get the same. Such organizations have greatly increased the price of labor, but the corresponding price of the necessities and comforts of life has advanced perhaps more rapidly. The number of working hours in the day has decreased far below the old variable standard, when farm laborers worked from sunrise to sunset and often beyond. According to the law of 1891 ten hours constituted a day of contract labor; the day's work has been reduced to nine hours in many establishments, and the clamor throughout the country is for a working day of eight hours, as is the rule among government employees. A law enacted in 1914 fixed fifty-five hours per week as the maximum allowed, thus providing for ten hours of labor on five days and a half holiday on Saturdays. Theorists are saying that five hours a day would be enough to keep the world in good condition, if the idle tramp and the idle rich could only be made to work.

The kind of operatives employed in mills and shoe shops and other places of manual labor differs much from what it was two generations ago. Then almost all the employees were of American parentage, people who came in from the farms to earn money more readily in the cities. Farmers' daughters worked in the cotton and woolen mills, with no foreigners in their company. At present the operatives are almost all of foreign birth or parentage, Canadian Frenchmen, Italians, Greeks, Poles, Russian Jews and a few from almost every nation under heaven.² Hosts from the far East are clamoring for admission

² The races that make up the population of Manchester have been reckoned as follows: French-Canadians 27,000, native stock 14,755, Irish 13,500, Greeks 6,000, Poles 5,000, Germans, 3,500, Swedes, 2,700, English

and a chance to earn American wages. They like our individual liberty and our respect for the laborer. A dollar a day looks big to those who have been accustomed to work in the old countries for twenty cents per day. The skilled workman, who received there fifty and sixty cents per day, gets here three dollars a day and sometimes five dollars, as carpenter or mason.

This influx of foreign laborers is forcing the Americans out, up or down. Many are driven to new enterprises in the West; some are forced out of employment in old age; many married couples can not afford to rear children because of the competition in labor and the high cost of living. Therefore thousands of old families of New England are becoming extinct in their old haunts, and we have to search for New England on the Pacific coast. A new population is taking possession of our cities and increasingly of the old New England farms. These new comers do not like to work in the mills and on the streets any better than the Americans once did. As soon as they can they move out and up. Unless the Americans are crowded up, they are forced down in the scale of living. Here and there may be found small communities of the old Yankee stock, who have become like the "white trash" of the South. The destruction of such poor people is their poverty, which engenders ignorance, crime, vice, and physical and mental deterioration.

It has been often said that the real prosperity and welfare of a State or nation does not depend on its farms, manufactures and accumulated wealth, but upon the kind of men and women it produces. It should not be concluded without reflection that the many manufactories of New Hampshire are indisputable evidence of prosperity. Where do the millions of dollars in profits go? The greater part may go into the pockets of absentee capitalists in Boston and vicinity, and then the evil of absentee landlords that has so injured Ireland may be repeated here in a varied form. Is the country really prosperous because wealthy mill owners can get shiploads of foreigners to come here and work for a smaller wage than Americans are willing to accept,

1,700, Scotch 1,600, Hebrews 850, Ruthenians 600, Syrians 600, Lithuanians 600, Italians 250, Portuguese 200, Russians 225, Norwegians 600, Armenians 200, Danes 60, Belgians 600, Chinese 55, Negroes 60, Finns 25, Hollanders 25, Swiss 20, Bulgarians 50, Albanians 40, Spaniards 15. Other cities have more Italians and Finns. Such statistics awaken thought, but need not arouse fear.

and thus make themselves still richer? If "wealth accumulates and men decay," is the country a gainer or a loser thereby? The danger to our civilization is not that people from Europe and Asia are taking the places of natives of New England. The people from England, Scotland and Ireland need not flatter themselves that they are the elite of the earth; the Italians and Greeks can boast of a more ancient civilization and greater names in history. The Syrian and the Hindoo can quickly be developed into as bright and good citizens as any others. The mixture of many nationalities may produce the finest generations the world has yet seen. The immigrants are changing their language, names, occupations, ideas and character, yea, even their stature and facial expressions. They look, talk and act just like Yankees after two generations.

But what chance is there for the development of character for those who work ten hours a day in a mill or shoe shop, doing one little thing over and over by use of a machine or by hand? Can a man grow in grace and knowledge by cutting out heels for shoes year after year? Is it an educative process, or one that shrivels and dwarfs the soul? Once we had small, competing shops where workmen learned to do and actually did many things each day, and where they had to be ingenious and exercise their wits. Now it takes no brains and develops no power of thinking to do the work assigned to each one in a well organized, mammoth manufactory. The housemaid hates to wash dishes, to do the same uninteresting thing three times a day; the operative may have to do a more insignificant thing thousands of times each day, and he becomes a half-alive automaton. Work ought to develop the workman instead of stunting him. It ought to fill his heart with joy instead of bitterness and envy. Have the great manufacturing cities of England produced better Englishmen than the yeomanry of the time of Oliver Cromwell? Will the mills and shops of New England turn out better citizens than did the farms of one hundred years ago? It is scarcely thinkable. The evil is clearly foreseen, and search is being made for the proper remedy.

Then, too, the "labor-saving" machinery of recent times only increases labor. The products do not keep up with our growing desires. The pace is set by the agent of the greedy capitalist,

and the employee must work up to standard, as fast as he can, without a moment of rest nine or ten hours a day. The machinery has, perhaps, doubled or thrified the wages of workmen, but it has multiplied profits by twenty or thirty. It is the relative income that frets the laborer and makes him dislike his task-master. He asks why machinery should not benefit the man who runs it as much as the man who buys it, and he wonders how the general agent of a group of mills really earns one hundred thousand dollars a year, while he is getting for his family only six to twelve dollars a week. The unrest and discontent resulting does not develop the highest type of manhood nor produce good American citizens. The operative knows not the freedom and independence of the farmer of other days.

Yet a little ready money, regularly received, has more allurements than distant crops and fruits of trees. If the farmer now has a farm of his own with buildings and stock, he can manage to get a comfortable and independent living, especially if he has a large family of growing boys, each one of whom is an asset on a farm and an expense in the city. If a farm is bought, with a mortgage, and interest has to be dug out of the rocky and sandy soil, the returns are meager. Without stock scarcely anything can now be earned on a farm during the long months of winter, and the expense of keeping warm is great. Farming for the man without capital has few enticements. Many try it for a short time and fail. The farmer seems to be getting less for his labor and the capital invested than even the operative in the mill or shoe shop. Therefore young men crowd into the cities, where there is more ready money and more of social life. The only way that farming can be made more attractive is to make it more remunerative. The beginner in any occupation must practice economy, work steadily and save something regularly.

Chapter XIII

NATIVE SONS AS MANUFACTURERS AND INVENTORS ABROAD

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Local Pride in Men of Mark—Jonas Chickering, Maker of Pianofortes—The Pilsburys, Flour Millers of Minneapolis—Cyrus Wakefield, in Whose Honor a Town Was Named—Thaddeus S. C. Lowe, Navigator of the Air—Moses G. Farmer, Pioneer in Electricity—Walter A. Wood, Maker of Farm Machinery—Nehemiah S. Bean, Maker of the First Steam Fire-Engine—Robert P. Parrott, the Man behind the Gun—Sylvester H. Roper, Mechanical Engineer.

IT must be of interest to all who claim New Hampshire as their place of birth or residence to know something of the men of mark, of whom it can be said with local pride, "This man was born there." Not all the great men have staid in their native State; some were made great by the better opportunities and new experiences found elsewhere. It is the purpose of this chapter to call to mind a few of them.

Jonas Chickering, son of Abner Chickering, a blacksmith and small farmer, was born in New Ipswich April 5, 1797. He got a little book knowledge in the town school and a lot of practical wisdom in his trade as a cabinet maker, to which he was apprenticed at the age of seventeen. At this business he worked three years with Mr. John Gould. Early he displayed a talent for music and learned in leisure moments to play skillfully the fife and clarionet. At the age of nineteen he made some repairs on the only pianoforte in New Ipswich, although it was the first instrument of the kind he had ever seen, and then he made a thorough study of its structure. It is needless to say that he restored the damaged pianoforte to tune and use. Soon after he commenced, alone and unaided, the building of a small organ with no instruction or drawings, starting out with only a growing idea. This did not prove to be a practical success, but he was acquiring knowledge which afterward was of service. Many apparent failures may precede a large success.

In 1818 he went to Boston and obtained employment after

a year with a maker of pianofortes, Mr. John Osborne, one of the very few manufacturers of that musical instrument then in America. He quickly mastered the business and after three years was able to form a partnership with Mr. Stewart for independent work. This lasted three years and then Mr. Chickering operated alone till 1830, when Capt. John Mackay became associated with him in business, thus providing sufficient capital. At once a large building was erected and the finest woods were imported. His partner was lost at sea, and Mr. Chickering continued the business alone. This building was destroyed by fire in 1852, and a mammoth structure at once succeeded it, where one hundred men or more were employed. Mr. Chickering died ere this building was completed, and his sons continued to manufacture pianofortes, making the name of the firm famous throughout the country. At one time there were two thousand pianofortes made annually by the Chickering's. Ere the death of Mr. Jonas Chickering, December 8, 1853, fourteen thousand completed products of his skill and industry had been scattered in homes and halls to cheer and bless mankind. In beauty of exterior, in tone and finish, the Chickering pianos had no superior in the wide world. They received a prize medal at the world's fair. Mr. Chickering gave a thousand dollars to the academy in his native town. He was a member of the Massachusetts legislature, highly esteemed among all lovers of music, a kind, affable, unassuming man. He had talent and business ability. Circumstances of his own choosing enabled him to combine the two. Character gained him credit and capital, and thus he amassed wealth while contributing something worth while to the pleasure and education of many.

George Alfred Pillsbury was born in Sutton, August 29, 1816. He was educated in the common schools of his native town. At the age of eighteen he went to Boston and spent a year as clerk in a grocery and fruit store. Returning to Sutton he engaged in the manufacture of stoves and sheet iron ware. In 1840 he went to Warner as clerk in a store, and the following year he purchased the business and carried it on eight years. In 1848 he went into a wholesale dry goods house in Boston and spent a year. Returning to Warner he entered into trade there again for two years. In 1851 he removed to Concord and until 1875 was purchasing agent of the Concord Railroad. He was



A.G. Pillsbury

one of the organizers and directors of the First National Bank of Concord in 1864 and was its president for twelve years after 1866. He also was one of the organizers of the National Savings Bank. In Warner he had served as selectman, town treasurer, post master and representative to the legislature. In Concord he was on the board of alderman, representative to the legislature, appraiser of real estate, trustee of the Centennial Home for the Aged, and of the State Orphans' Home on the Webster farm in Franklin. He and his son gave the organ of the First Baptist church in Concord. When he left Concord in 1878 to reside in Minneapolis, his fellow citizens gave him a testimonial of respect with three hundred signatures. He became a member of the firm of C. A. Pillsbury and Company of Minneapolis, the largest flouring firm in the world. In 1884 he was elected mayor of Minneapolis. He served as president of the City Council, the Board of Trade, the Chamber of Commerce, the Homeopathic Hospital, the Board of Water Works, the St. Paul and Minneapolis Baptist Union, the Northwestern National Bank, and the American Baptist Missionary Society. His son, Charles A. Pillsbury, graduated at Dartmouth in 1863 and was the big man of the flouring firm in Minneapolis.

Mr. Pillsbury contributed liberally to Colby Academy at New London and to Pillsbury Academy at Owatonna, Minnesota, giving to the latter two buildings at a cost of \$75,000. To Sutton, his native town, he presented a fine soldiers' monument; to the town of Warner he gave a free library building of brick with stone trimmings; to Concord he gave a general hospital in honor of his wife, Margaret Sprague Pillsbury, on the fiftieth anniversary of their wedding. During his lifetime he gave \$500,000 and in his will he bequeathed \$300,000 more to various educational, charitable and religious institutions, among them being Pillsbury Academy, to which he gave \$250,000. He died in Minneapolis July 17, 1898. Business ability was born and nurtured in him; a rare opportunity enabled him to amass wealth; a generous heart and Christian principle prompted him to distribute liberally for the service of others.

John Sargent Pillsbury, brother to George A. Pillsbury, was born at Sutton, July 29, 1827. He was clerk for his brother in a store in Warner and later formed a partnership with Walter Harriman of that place, who afterward was governor of New

Hampshire. Removing to Concord he did business there for two years as a merchant tailor and dealer in cloth. In 1855 he settled in Minneapolis and engaged in hardware business. The firm of which he was a member lost \$38,000 by fire in 1857, yet the business was continued till 1875, when he sold out and entered into the business of milling with his nephew, Charles A. Pillsbury, and his brother became a member of the same firm.

Mr. Pillsbury was active in raising and equipping regiments for the Civil War. He was a member of the State Senate for thirteen years. Because of his interest and assistance given to the State University, he having built for it a Hall of Science at a cost of \$150,000, he was called the Father of the University. As a Republican he was elected governor of Minnesota in 1875 and was twice re-elected. Lumbering and construction of railroads engaged his active interest. This did not hinder him from being director of several banks, president of the Board of Regents of the University of Minnesota, and director of the Pillsbury-Washburn Flour Mills. The town hall at Sutton was his gift.

Cyrus Wakefield was born in Marlborough, that part which was afterward set off as Roxbury, February 14, 1811. He had little schooling, but an inquisitive and inventive mind kept him prying into things and trying to put his fancies into visible facts. The successes of men he knew and read about aroused in him an ambition to accomplish something in the world and to acquire the influence and power that wealth brings. Picking cotton in a mill at Peterborough did not quite satisfy him, neither did he find contentment in reading a controversy between Calvin and Arminius, which a minister gave him to read. So he went to Boston as soon as he was able, to seek his fortune. Here he became clerk in a grocery store and utilized his spare moments in doing a little business for himself in the way of buying and selling empty casks and barrels. Thus he saved a thousand dollars and the path of wealth opened before him. Not going to college as was suggested to him, he never knew how little he lost and always supposed he had lost a great deal, not realizing perhaps how much he gained of practical wisdom that the average college student fails to acquire. He made up his loss in part by attending evening schools, visiting various debating

societies, and listening to courses of scientific lectures. Was not this as good a curriculum as Latin, Greek, higher Mathematics and football? Who is the educated man, if not the one who has learned to use to advantage all his capacities?

While he was engaged with his brother in independent grocery business in Boston he purchased, almost by accident, a small quantity of rattan, that had been thrown out of a ship as refuse matter, and sold it at a profit to some chairmakers, who used the outside of the cane in seating chairs and threw away the rest. Mr. Wakefield conceived the ideas of utilizing all the rattan, cane, pith and shavings. Having a brother-in-law in Canton, China, he ordered split rattan from there and prospered in the trade, selling his importations throughout the United States. In 1856 he went to New York for a short time and bought up all the rattan in the market, created a "corner" as they say, and had a monopoly of the trade. This enabled him to fix the price of rattan for a while, and so he became suddenly rich. One does not have to go to college to learn such tricks in trade, yet only a few persons have the foresight and ready cash to seize the flitting opportunity.

Soon after he removed his business to South Reading, Massachusetts, where water power and steam power took the place of hand power. His business kept enlarging till he used ten acres of floor space. Building after building was erected. Every bit of the rattan was made into something that would sell. He saw that a rapidly growing town would raise the price of real estate, and so he bought all the land he could, draining swamps and filling in lowlands, thus creating building lots. Real estate speculators did not rob him of the unearned increment. Thus he was enabled to present to the town a site for a Town Hall and to build the Hall at a cost of \$120,000. There was some inducement to do this for the people had voted to change the name of the town to Wakefield in his honor. Of course such a man was director in the banks, and on the School Board and stockholder in Ice and Gas Companies. To him that hath shall be given.

Mr. Wakefield died October 26, 1873. Here is the way he has been sketched as to general character. "He was a man of iron will and resolute purpose, combined with great physical

endurance. Energy, perseverance, and an indomitable courage in the face of almost insuperable objects were his prominent characteristics. He had a keen perception, and results that other men reached by hard thought seemed to intuitively come to him. He knew human nature thoroughly and could read a man at a glance. To those who knew him best he revealed at times a warm, genial and tender nature, though to a stranger he might seem distant. He was charitable, giving not only in large sums to public enterprises, but cheering the hearts of the poor with his generous gifts. Many students struggling for an education remember with gratitude his timely aid. As a merchant he was shrewd, industrious, persistent, and careful in the details of his business." Why should he be esteemed a successful man of business? Because he gained riches? He had business foresight and insight. He saw the latent possibilities in things others discarded. He had original ideas and worked them out to practical results, thus contributing to the advancement of civilization in the proper use of nature's products. He made the earth a little better place to live on for a short time. He did not succeed by imitating others; he just acted out himself.

From Jefferson, in Coos county, came Thaddeus S. C. Lowe, born there August 20, 1832. He got an education without much schooling, while many others get much schooling without an education. A few weeks each summer and blazing pine knots to read by in the winter evenings made up his college. In his fifteenth year he walked from his home to Portland, Maine, and there took the boat to Boston, where he apprenticed himself for three years, to learn the trade of boot and shoe cutting. Thus he got money enough to study medicine. By compounding medicines and practice as a physician he made money enough to retire from a disagreeable occupation, and then he began to give public lectures on scientific subjects. Before this he had taught a class in chemistry. His chemical experiments pleased and instructed his listeners.

In 1857 he began the study of navigating the air in balloons. In 1860 he completed a mammoth balloon, six times larger than any previously built. Its lifting capacity was twenty-two and one-half tons. The balloon itself weighed three and a half tons. Its perpendicular diameter was one hundred and fifty feet, and its transverse diameter was one hundred and four feet. Four

hundred thousand cubic feet of gas were furnished for it in four hours. On the trial trip five passengers were taken up a distance of two miles and a half. This experiment led to his introduction to Professor Henry of the Smithsonian Institute, with whom he co-operated in taking meteorological observations at different points on the continent and at high altitudes in balloons. The same were wired to Washington and thus it was possible to make weather predictions and the United States signal service grew out of this movement.

In 1861 Mr. Lowe sailed in his balloon from Cincinnati to some point in South Carolina and had some difficulty in getting back, being suspected as a spy. It took him five days or more to go by rail the distance that he had made in a balloon in eight hours. During the Civil War he rendered important service as chief aeronaut of the United States army, which position he held for three years. During this time he made over three thousand cable ascensions and was the first to establish telegraphic communications between a balloon and various portions of the army and Washington at the same time. Many were the inventions of Mr. Lowe to make his balloons of military service, among them being a way of producing water-gas beside any stream or pool of water. Thus in three hours the aeronaut could reinflate his air-ship. His system of field aeronautics was introduced into the British, French and Brazilian armies, and the emperor of Brazil offered to Mr. Lowe a commission as major-general to serve in the war with Paraguay, which he declined.

In 1867 Mr. Lowe invented his machine for the manufacture of ice, which came into general use. In 1872-3 he brought out his water-gas process for producing light and heat, which was adopted in over two hundred cities. He revolutionized the gas industry in the United States, making water-gas by the addition of crude petroleum, thus lowering the cost of gas. An observatory at Mount Lowe, near Pasadena, California, and an inclined railroad leading thereto were built through the efforts and financial aid of Mr. Lowe.

One of the pioneers in the field of electrical discoveries and inventions in this country was Moses Gerrish Farmer, born in Boscowen, February 9, 1820. He fitted for college at Phillips Exeter Academy and spent three years at Dartmouth College, leaving before graduation because of ill health. He was preceptor

at Eliot Academy, Maine, and later taught in the Belknap School at Dover. From 1847 on his attention was given wholly to scientific pursuits. His recreation was the study of music and he was fond of mathematics. His experiments in electricity were begun in 1845, when he invented an electro-magnetic engine. In 1846 he constructed a small electro-magnetic locomotive and a short electric railroad and lectured upon the subject in many towns and cities. He showed also how electricity could be applied to use of torpedoes and sub-marine blasting. Another invention of his was a machine for striking alarms of fire on church bells, and still another was the electro-magnetic clock. His fire-alarm was used in most of the large towns of the United States and Canada. He made important discoveries in electro-metallurgy, making copper brittle as glass. The gyroscope kept continually in motion by electricity may lead to a railroad of one rail. Then followed an instrument for sending four messages at the same time over a single wire. The printing telegraph was another invention. His house at Salem, Massachusetts, was the first one ever lighted by electricity, in 1858. It cost too much then for general use. He came near to making gold by a mixture of platinum and copper. In 1868 he constructed the largest thermo-electric battery ever built up to that time, and made a new copper wire encased in steel. He furnished thirty thousand insulators to one telegraph company. In 1872 he accepted a professorship in the United States Torpedo Station at Newport, Rhode Island, for giving instruction in electricity and chemistry as applied to the art of war. He invented a flying machine and predicted the telephone and storage battery. He and his wife were among the originators of the summer school at Green Acre, in Eliot, Maine, and she was the builder of the Rosemary Cottage in the same town. He died at Chicago, May 25, 1893.

The first mowing machines used in New England were manufactured by Walter A. Wood, who was born in Mason, October 23, 1815. His father, Aaron Wood, was a wagon-maker and the son worked in his father's shop till 1835, when he obtained a position in a machine shop. Meanwhile his father and family had removed to New York State. The study of Walter A. Wood was particularly directed towards farming machines, one of the first results being an improvement of the Manny reaper then in

use. Two hundred of such improved machines were sold by Mr. Wood. His business increased rapidly. In 1853 he sold five hundred of his machines for mowing, reaping and self-binding. Between 1853 and 1869 his sales multiplied twelve times, being six thousand in the latter year. In 1884 he sold more than eighty-four thousand of his farming machines and implements. He had taken out thirty patents and had manufactured three-quarters of a million of machines. Of the agricultural implements sent abroad ninety per cent. were made by Mr. Wood. He received a medal from Queen Victoria and the decoration of the Legion of Honor from Napoleon III of France. Twice he was elected representative to the United States congress. He died January 15, 1892. He enriched many others while he was enriching himself, and made farm work lighter and more remunerative. Walter A. Wood made the swinger of the scythe a dim memory of the past.

Nehemiah S. Bean, born in Gilmanton in 1818, may be said to have gone to school in a machine shop and there learned something better than algebra. In 1854 he took charge of the locomotive work of the Essex Manufacturing Company of Lawrence, Massachusetts. In 1857-8 he constructed the first steam fire-engine, and under his direction six hundred such engines were built. They came into common use in all parts of the civilized world.

Robert Parker Parrott, son of the Hon. John F. Parrott, was born in Lee, October 5, 1804. He was appointed a cadet in the United States military academy in 1820 and graduated in 1824 as second lieutenant of artillery. He served in various garrisons in the West and at Portsmouth, studying law meanwhile, and was admitted to the bar in New York in 1830. For a time he was in the ordinance bureau in Washington. His commission as captain in the army was resigned, in order that he might become superintendent of an iron and cannon foundry at Cold Spring, New York. After years of study of rifled cannon he invented the famous Parrott gun, of cast iron girt about with hoops of wrought iron. One of these was fired over four thousand times before bursting. The gun was first used at the battle of Bull Run and throughout the Civil War rendered good service to the northern army.

From 1844 to 1847 Mr. Parrott was judge of the court of

common pleas for Putnam county, New York. He died at Cold Spring, December 24, 1877.

Sylvester H. Roper was born in Francestown, November 24, 1823. When a boy he manifested remarkable precocity in mechanics. At the age of twelve, though he had never seen a steam engine, he constructed a small stationary engine, which is preserved in Francestown Academy. Two years later he made a locomotive engine and shortly afterward saw one for the first time in Nashua. After pursuing his trade as a machinist several years in Nashua, Manchester, New York and Worcester he made his residence in Boston, in 1854. About this time he invented the Handstitch Sewing Machine, an improvement on anything of that sort previously made. In 1861 the hot-air engine was one of his inventions, superseded by the gas engine. He also experimented with steam carriages and invented breach loading guns of different patterns. Among his later inventions was a machine for manufacturing screws, a furnace of superior design and an automatic fire-escape.

Chapter XIV

PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM AND INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

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PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM AND INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION.

Division of Towns into School Districts—The Curriculum of the Little Red School-House—Wages of Teachers—School Funds—Superintending School Committee—Grading Leads to High Schools—State Commissioner of Common Schools—Succeeded by a Board of Education—Superintendent of Public Instruction—District System Abandoned and the Town System Re-established in 1885—Recent Enrollment—Teachers' Institutes—State Teachers' Association—Scope of Education in Secondary Schools—Normal Schools—Academies—Kimball Union Academy—Colby Academy—Tilton Seminary—New Hampton Academy—St. Paul's—School at Holderness—Proctor Academy—Phillips Exeter Academy—Pinkerton Academy—Brewster Free Academy—Robinson Seminary—High Schools—The State College at Durham—Dartmouth College, Its Recent Rapid Growth.

ALREADY the history of education in New Hampshire has been sketched down to about the year 1800. Since then great progress has been made, particularly within recent years. The old system of town-schools, received from Massachusetts, continued in vogue till the year 1805, when a law was made empowering towns to divide into school districts and giving to each district the right to raise money by taxation for school purposes. This greatly increased the number of schools and led to the building of school houses more conveniently situated. Before that time the town-school was often an itinerant affair, sometimes held in a private house, and pupils had to go long distances. The attendance was very irregular, and even down to the year 1850 or later the yearly complaint of school officials was, that many went to school in a leisurely sort of way, whenever it was convenient. In those early days the town-schools were taught by "masters" and twenty weeks in a year were quite enough. In the district schools that followed a term of nine or ten weeks in the winter and as many more in the summer were thought to be sufficient for the education of youth. A "master" taught the winter term, and some "schoolma'am"

taught in the summer. The reason of this was, that boys twelve or more years of age were needed on the farm during the summer, and so they got only ten weeks of school in the winter. This was enough to give them opportunity to review what most of them already knew in arithmetic, to learn to spell some more hard words, to commit to memory by repetition the choice selections in Town's Readers, and to practice penmanship according to varying copies set by the teachers. It was some time after the beginning of the nineteenth century before geography and English grammar were commonly taught in the district schools. About 1850 it was first recommended that physiology and hygiene be taught, and in 1857 the commissioners advised that vocal music and drawing be taught, yet these branches of study were frequently neglected, many teachers being incompetent to instruct in such higher education.

A century ago the boys in the winter term were frequently unruly, and even within fifty years it was considered a triumphant feat in some districts, if the big boys could put the "master" out of a window of the school house into a snow drift. Complaints of insubordination frequently came to the ears of school authorities. It was learned after a time that refined and well educated ladies could keep order as well as male teachers, and sometimes better, and so the schoolma'am was employed both summer and winter. A special reason for this was, that the wages of female teachers were much smaller than those of men. The first recognition of schoolmistresses by law was in 1826. As late as 1847 reports show that male teachers were receiving an average wage of \$13.50 per month, exclusive of board, and they boarded around, while female teachers received only an average of \$5.65 per month. The common seamen received higher wages than the male teachers and the girls in the cotton and woolen mills fared sumptuously as compared with the schoolma'am. Of course for such wages competent instructors could not be obtained. The best teachers to be had in winter were college students, who thus earned something to help them through college. If they happened to have a natural gift for imparting knowledge and awakening enthusiasm for study, all went well, for Nature has always been the best Normal School. Young misses fifteen years of age and upward taught a dozen or so children in the lonely country school house in the summer, and

sometimes they needed education as much as the children under their care. It is surprising how much and how fast children and youths learned in those days. Those who had any appreciation of their opportunities studied earnestly, and such could learn without a teacher. The weeks of schooling simply held continuous attention to text books, and pupils learned much from one another. The teacher kept order and heard recitations, and the pupils did the rest. A friendly and popular teacher could produce excellent results, if he knew very little. His spirit inspired the boys and girls to learn for themselves.

Before 1850 there was no uniformity of text books, and unnecessary classes had to be formed. The children of the poor had difficulty in providing themselves with books, and so the school authorities of each town were empowered to provide books for such as in their judgment needed help. Doubtless some towns were divided into too many districts for the accommodation of a few, and thus the schools were too small for highest efficiency. There can be greater interest in a class of forty than in one of four pupils. In 1847 there were reported two thousand three hundred schools, for which were expended \$120,000, or twenty thousand dollars more than the law then required. But that was only a little more than fifty dollars a year for the average school. The number of scholars of school age was 75,000 and the average attendance was 55,000.

In a preceding chapter mention has been made of the literary fund. By a law enacted in 1821 banks were taxed fifty dollars for every one thousand dollars they had in circulation, or one per cent. on their capital stock, afterward confined to the tax on the capital stock. The original aim was to collect money for the establishment of a State College, as a rival to Dartmouth College. This scheme was abandoned in 1828, when the fund accumulated amounted to \$64,000. Then the fund was distributed among the towns according to the apportionment of the public taxes, to be used for the support of common schools. Since 1848 the fund has been distributed in proportion to the number of children in each town over four years of age, who have attended the common schools at least two weeks in the preceding year. The average yearly income from this source at that time was about \$18,824. In 1876 it rose to \$27,000, or forty-three cents for each scholar. It now amounts to between \$30,000

and \$40,000 annually. It was increased in 1866 by a tax on deposits of non-residents in savings banks and later by a tax on deposits of non-residents in other similar institutions. In 1868 the proceeds from the sale of public lands were set apart as a school fund. Later a tax on dogs was applied to the same use, amounting in one year to \$39,000.

In 1827 a law was enacted, requiring the annual appointment of a superintending school committee of not less than three or more than five in each town to examine teachers, visit and inspect all the schools in their respective towns twice a year, use their influence to secure attendance of pupils, determine what text books should be used, and make a written report. They had the legal control of the public schools. Since their reports were not sent to the secretary of state for publication, the towns and the State at large learned little from their efforts, and not much improvement in the public schools resulted. Two years later the office of prudential committee was created. They were chosen annually, in the month of March, in each school district, except in the town of Portsmouth, which had a special law, and their duty was to have care of the school houses and make repairs, to hire teachers and provide board for the same, to furnish fuel, and to determine when the terms of school should begin and end, giving due notice to the superintending school committee. In 1872 a law was passed permitting women to be chosen as members of the prudential committees.

Annual assessments were made for the support of district schools. The rate had risen in 1840 to one hundred dollars to every dollar of the public tax apportioned to the town. Since then by successive enactments the rate has risen to seven hundred and fifty dollars to every dollar of the public tax. For instance, if in every \$1,000 of the general State tax a town must pay \$50, then there may be raised seven hundred and fifty times fifty dollars for school purposes.

In 1840 legal permission was given to districts to grade their schools, whenever the number of pupils was fifty or more, by making two or more divisions according to age and acquirements. This opened the way five years later for High Schools, which might be formed by uniting two or more contiguous districts of any town or towns, for the instruction of the older and more advanced pupils. Such High Schools have gradually taken the

places of the old academies, of which there were about eighty before the year 1850. Some academies still serve as the High Schools of their respective towns, with free tuition to inhabitants of the town and a small fee paid by students from other towns. According to the law of 1845 "the teachers of every High School must be competent to teach (in addition to the branches prescribed for the common schools) history, philosophy, chemistry, bookkeeping, surveying, algebra, rhetoric and logic, all which branches and the ancient and modern languages may be taught in such high schools." By philosophy was meant what is now called physics. The teaching of surveying was very rare. Languages, mathematics, history and a term in each of the natural sciences made up the usual curriculum of the high school, and special attention was given to the fitting of boys, and later of girls, for college.

In 1846 the office of State commissioner of common schools was created by law. Said commissioner was appointed for two years by the governor with advice of council. The bill was introduced into the legislature by Professor Charles B. Haddock of Dartmouth College, and he was the first person appointed to the office. The commissioner was required, at a salary of \$600, to spend at least twenty weeks of each year in visiting the schools and giving public lectures, making an annual written report of the state and statistics of the public schools. Since that date there has been printed a school report every year or bi-annually, and that date marks the beginning of decided improvement in school houses, teachers and general efficiency. Many of the school houses were found to be scarcely fit for out-buildings, unattractive, lonesomely situated, poorly lighted and heated, and unsanitary. The "knowledge-box," as it was sometimes called, had no other allurement than the knowledge to be gained therein. Everything about the district school in those days betokened penuriousness. The endeavor was to have the education of children cost the taxpayers as little as possible. Here economy and retrenchment had their proper field of operation.

In 1850 the office of State Commissioner of Common Schools was discontinued and a Board of Education was established, made up of a commissioner for each county, ten in all. These were appointed by the governor and council annually. They

were required to spend at least one day in each town of their respective counties every year, "for the purpose of promoting, by addresses, inquiries and other means, the cause of common school education." They were also to take charge of any teachers' institute held in their respective counties, and to recommend such text books as they judged best to be used in the common schools, as well as to give attention to methods of instruction, modes of government and discipline. For all this labor they received from sixty to one hundred and eighty-five dollars annually, according to the size of the county, making the total expenditure for supervision of the ten counties about \$1,200, which was reduced to \$800 in a time of financial stringency. Something extra was allowed for stationery, printing and postage, but nothing for traveling expenses, except when they all assembled at Concord to make out their annual report. The superintending school committees of the various towns were required to report to the Board of Education, and many of such reports, or extracts from them, were printed in the annual reports. In 1867 the office of county commissioners was abolished and instead was created by legal enactment the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction, which has continued down to the present time (1916).

This officer is appointed biennially by the governor and council and has general supervision and control of the educational interests of the state. A part of his duty is to lecture throughout the state, hold teachers' institutes, and visit and inspect schools. Since 1913 two deputies assist him in his work. A printed report is issued biennially. The office of Superintendent of Public Instruction has been held by Amos Hadley, 1867-69; Anthony C. Hardy, 1869-71; John W. Simonds, 1871-73; Daniel G. Beebe, 1873-74; John W. Simonds, 1874-76; Charles A. Downs, 1876-80; James W. Patterson, 1881-92; Fred Gowing, 1893-98; Channing Folsom, 1898-1904; Henry C. Morrison, 1905—to the present, 1916.

In the year 1885, largely through the influence of Superintendent Patterson, the district system, that had lasted eighty years, was abandoned, and the old town system of schools was re-established. The main reason for this change was, that population had increased in cities and villages, and decreased in rural districts, so that of the 2,684 schools in the State 804, or nearly

one-third, numbered twelve pupils or less each, and 307 schools averaged six or less. Thus there was a serious waste of money and effort. One school house fitted for fifty pupils had three, and school districts that once had from seventy to one hundred pupils had none, by reason of abandoned farms and removal of the population. After the readoption of the ancient town system some towns paid the expense of transporting pupils from a distance to the school centrally situated. Thus better grading was possible, and more enthusiasm was kindled among the children and young students. The same amount of money provided for longer terms of school, and all the children of a town had equal privileges. A school board of three persons in each town has charge of all the schools, thus taking the place of the superintending and prudential committees of previous times. The effect of this new system was to blot out within ten years four hundred and fifty-eight of the smaller schools, to increase the average length of schools throughout the State by more than a month, and to add to the average pay of teachers, thus securing more permanence and efficiency in the profession. Provision was made by law that any town after five years of trial of the new system might return to the old system by a majority vote of all the voters in the town. The opportunity was closed by a new school law in 1892. In 1890 the value of school property was \$2,578,257 and the entire revenue for schools was \$751,266. There were 2,302 schools and nearly 60,000 pupils enrolled.

The statistics for the years 1913-14 may be useful for comparison. Then there were registered 63,991 pupils in the public schools, 13,684 in parochial schools and 1146 in private and institutional schools, making a total of 78,821. Thus from four thousand to six thousand were unaccounted for. Over ninety-two per cent. of the children in school were in attendance every day. At the same time evening schools in eight cities and towns enrolled 1,468 students, with an average attendance of over fourteen weeks. By the attendance act of 1913 children are required to remain in school till they have finished the eighth grade or have reached the age of sixteen. From the eighth grade they pass in increasing numbers to the High Schools. Ninety-two per cent. of those who enter the first grade graduate from the eighth.

Teachers' Institutes were at first held from time to time in convenient localities by aid of voluntary contributions. In 1840

a law provided that any town might raise by taxation for such institutes five per cent. of the amount assessed for the support of schools. Subsequent legislatures cut down the amount for such purpose to three per cent. and two per cent., and in 1862 teachers' institutes were abolished by law, perhaps because of retrenchments due to the expense of the Civil War. In 1868 institutes were revived and again abolished in 1874. By a law of 1883 the State Superintendent of public instruction is required to hold at least one institute each year in each county of the State. For the maintenance of such institutes a fund has been established by the sale of state lands, the income of which is used for this purpose. During the year 1913-14 there were in attendance 1802 teachers and 112 members of school boards of various towns. A broad range of educational topics is discussed and usually some notable educator from another State contributes expert knowledge. The cost of twenty-seven institutes in 1913-14 was only \$1,285, and how could that amount of money be better expended? Teachers must be continually taught as well as pupils.

In the year 1913 was published a history of the State Teachers' Association, prepared by Isaac Walker, for forty years the honored principal of Pembroke Academy. The book reviews the work of sixty years. The Association was the result of a preliminary meeting called at Manchester, April 3, 1854, and the organization was effected at Concord June 15th of the same year, when one hundred teachers were in attendance. The writer says that New Hampshire had then "a Greek chorus, composed of tried and true politicians, and called the State Board of Education," who heartily approved the formation of the State Teachers' Association. Clergymen took an active part in its early meetings. At its second meeting teachers subscribed over twelve hundred dollars for a State Normal School and pledged themselves to raise \$2,500 each year for a term of five years for the support of such an institution. At this time the State was expending six thousand dollars annually for the maintenance of teachers' institutes as the only means for the professional instruction of teachers. The Association led to the establishment of the New Hampshire Journal of Education in 1857. It was issued monthly and soon had four hundred and fifty

subscribers. In 1864 the New England Journal of Education had taken its place.

Certain resolutions of the Association are of interest, as "That as Americans we should pronounce Greek and Latin according to the principles of our vernacular tongue and not in accordance with the principles of any foreign nation." This was in 1865. Educational opinion has radically changed in this particular. In 1876 it was voted to admit women to full membership in the Association, and without the usual initiatory fee. In 1887 it was resolved "That the teachers of New Hampshire are in favor of scientific temperance education," and in 1895 they further resolved "That temperance instruction should be pre-eminently for character building, and moral rather than scientific." A noteworthy statement was made at its fifty-fourth session, in 1908. . "We note with satisfaction the millions of dollars yearly bestowed upon our colleges and other private institutions of learning. We believe, however, that it is too often wealth given for the education of the classes, rather than of the masses, and that the donors forget that it is not the colleges, but the common schools, which are the bulwarks of national power. We, therefore, ask the wealthy men of our state to consider whether their money may not be more justly bestowed upon the schools now wholly supported by taxation,—bestowed, not as endowments, but as comparatively small, outright gifts for special equipments, which shall add much to the practical working efficiency, especially of our high schools." Will the time ever come when ambitious and far-seeing men of wealth will build, name and endow primary schools, fully equipped to give boys and girls the best possible start in life? This would be public beneficence indeed, and of an impartial character. There should be accompanying "fellowships," to push the brightest and best clear through the University. President Cyrus Hamlin, Professor Calvin E. Stowe and Speaker Thomas B. Reed probably never would have been heard of, if some keen-sighted business men of Portland, Maine, had not picked them out of a Sunday School and paid their expenses through Bowdoin College.

The State Teachers' Association has grown to have twelve hundred members, and its annual meetings are held in Concord or Manchester. It has been a means of education for the teachers

themselves and it has been a strong factor in the moulding of public opinion in favor of better schools and higher education of the masses. The high schools and academies have more students now than ever before, and the colleges are over-crowded and keeping many on the waiting lists.

The inaugural report of the present State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Henry C. Morrison, is remarkably thorough and worthy of careful study. It calls attention to supervisory districts, authorized by the legislature in 1899. Supervision has now been extended over four-fifths of all the children in the State. A group of towns unite in supporting a supervisor, or District Superintendent. The cities have their own superintendents, but all are under the general oversight of the State Superintendent. The grading of schools has advanced till more than half have regular courses of study. Manual training has been introduced into many of the secondary schools, and industrial, or vocational, education in commerce, mechanic arts, household arts, and agriculture is found in fifty-nine different secondary schools. Boys are taught to analyze soils, trim and spray apple-trees, make farming implements, build cement walls, and become expert gardeners. Towns furnish free text books and school supplies to all, and there are eighty approved secondary schools in the State where one can get a preparation for college gratuitously. Within the college are free scholarships, and opportunities to earn and to borrow money, so that any aspiring and energetic youth may arrive at the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The eight grades of the elementary schools give to a boy or girl fourteen years of age what was considered almost a liberal education in the days of our grandfathers. The branches of learning there taught are reading, handwriting, arithmetic, spelling, composition, English grammar, geography, United States history, physiology and hygiene, and civil government, a fair foundation for good citizenship and business prosperity. Patriotism is taught by the stars and stripes floating over every school house.

NORMAL SCHOOLS.

Some of the early teachers learned to teach by teaching; the rest never learned. The Teachers' Institutes served a useful purpose and revealed a deeper need of technical instruction.

Teaching was the lifework of only a few, and those who intended to quit the business of teaching as soon as they could find something that paid better had no desire to spend years of preparation for a brief task. After the teachers themselves began to clamor for a normal school it took many years to convince the legislators that such an institution was needed. Was not the education which they had received good enough for their children?

In 1823 there was established in the village of Franklin, which was then a part of Salisbury, what was called an Instructors' School. It was founded by Mr. Joseph Noyes of that place, and the principal for many years was Captain Benjamin M. Tyler, a graduate of the military school at Norwich, Vermont. This was an embryo normal school, without the name. In the spring and fall terms Mr. Tyler formed a teachers' class and taught them the best known methods of instruction. In fact an excellent teacher is almost a normal school in himself, and his spirit and method will be unconsciously imbibed by those under his instruction. Every recitation is an object lesson, and practice is better than theory, unless the theory has been deduced from large practice. The Instructors' School at Franklin was discontinued for lack of endowment and financial support.

In 1837 the Rev. Samuel Read Hall, then a teacher in Phillips Academy, Andover, was invited to become principal of Holmes Academy at Plymouth. He was the author of a pioneer book, *Lectures on School Keeping*, and had conducted a normal school, the first on this continent, at Concord, Vermont, in 1823. He accepted the call to Plymouth on condition that the school should be called a teachers' seminary and should have a department specially devoted to the training of teachers. The expected endowment failed to materialize, and the school was closed after two years of good work. Out of an enrollment of 229 pupils 28 belonged to the teachers' department. Mr. Hall spent the remainder of his life in the Christian ministry.

Neighboring States established normal schools long before New Hampshire. The reliance here was upon teachers' institutes and academies. Ignorance never feels its need. The common schools were in a deplorable condition up to 1870, but the people did not realize it. In that year, after sixteen years of effort, the legislature voted to establish a normal school and

authorized governor and council to appoint trustees. Bids were invited, and Plymouth offered \$42,000 in money and real estate, impelled perhaps by the remembrance of their teachers' seminary. The old building of Holmes Academy proved to be inadequate, and the legislature was asked for an appropriation of \$12,000 for a building and \$3,000 for apparatus and library. The grant made was only \$5,000, and two years later \$8,000 were added to this amount. The institution attracted students from the start, as well as the schools of the village, which were placed under the control of the Normal School for practice. The enrollment of the Normal School the second year was 184 pupils.

It was hampered by legislative requirements and penuriousness. The educational dollar was the biggest one the legislators knew, bigger than the "cartwheel," of silver. The legislative act declared that "the said normal school shall be established without expense to the State, except the necessary expenses of the trustees, which shall not exceed \$300." The school was sustained by tuition fees and contributions. In 1875 the State made its first appropriation and the school was declared free. That is, no tuition is required of those who will obligate themselves to teach in New Hampshire as long as they have been in attendance at the normal school. The early classes were graduated after twenty weeks of instruction and practice, which was then the length of the school year, one-fourth the length of the shortest course in other New England normal schools. In 1878, in spite of reduction in appropriation to \$3,000, the time necessary to graduation was extended to two years of forty weeks each, and then the State began to have a real normal school. The debt on the school and the reduced appropriations of the State permitted only a principal and one assistant for a year and a half, who taught seven or eight hours a day and nearly worked themselves to death. Those who never tried it have no idea that eight hours of teaching is nerve-racking work. Sage legislators think that public school teachers have an easy time and deserve only small pay. They are not quite ready to grant pensions to the few that have spent their entire lives in the public service. It has been a prevalent notion that teachers and ministers ought to be kept poor and dependent on the dictum of the powers that be, discharged at the will of a changing and fickle committee.

In old age let them shift for themselves, while military and naval superannuates are well cared for.

But there has been steady advancement during the last forty years. The legislators have grown in grace and knowledge, increasing appropriations and erecting new buildings as they were made necessary by success. The Normal School at Plymouth, when its new building is completed, will have ample accommodations for its one hundred and eight students.

In 1909 another Normal School was established at Keene, and still the Superintendent of Public Instruction asks for two more. Four such schools are needed to meet the annual demand for teachers in the elementary schools of the State. The young ladies who have graduated at Normal School soon go to a higher institution, the family, through the gateway of marriage. It is a pity that mothers can not keep right on teaching in the public schools, since motherhood fits them to do still better work. Perhaps that reform and expansion will come some day. But so long as it costs more to hire a housemaid than a country school teacher receives in wages, the educated mother will remain at home all day and send her children to be educated by somebody who knows less than she does. The Normal School at Keene has a dormitory costing \$100,000, which is a three-story building of brick and concrete, designed to accommodate fifty-nine students and teachers. The building is not yet completed. There are also a school building, a heating plant, the Hale house for administration and library, a laboratory for the household arts department, a principal's residence and a greenhouse.

In all schools some attention is given to physical culture. A gymnasium is now a necessary part of a high school or academy. There are playgrounds for the children, superintended during the time of summer vacation, in the larger cities. Interscholastic sports add zest to school life and seem to some persons to be over-emphasized. Evening schools are teaching immigrants the English language and the duties and privileges of American citizens. The increasing effort of all the States is, to make out of all its inhabitants, even the feeble-minded, the blind, and the deaf mutes, as much as nature will allow and patient endeavor will produce. While the soul of education is the education of the soul it is remembered that a sound mind can manifest its powers best in a sound body.

ACADEMIES

Comparatively few of the old academies remain. The earliest have been mentioned in the preceding volume. The names of a few more have survived. The largest and most prosperous are the institutions that have been fostered by some religious denomination. A few have resulted from the heavy endowment of some man of wealth, who wished to benefit his native town. These are located in villages remote from the large cities, and thither resort students from the towns that have no high schools, those who prefer private to public schools, as well as a considerable number of students from other States. Sometimes an attempt is made to use them as "gilt-edged penitentiaries" for such as are undesirable in other schools by reason of lack of scholarship or of manners, yet all schools are on their guard against such applicants, and a pupil expelled from one school is usually black-listed till repentance. Thus educational institutions protect one another. The early academies were established by ministers and pious laymen for the promotion of science, morality, and religion. The religious element in education, even in denominational schools, is not so much emphasized now as formerly, this being due perhaps to a changed conception of religion as inseparable from morality. It has been learned that students can behave and study just as well without chapel exercises twice a day and the memorizing of the catechism. The denominational institutions are managed as non-sectarian, and there is freedom of religious belief and worship.

One of the oldest and most flourishing academies for a full century is the Kimball Union Academy of Meriden, endowed by Hon. Daniel Kimball and named in his honor. It has been a noted fitting school for Dartmouth College. Until the year 1839 it was for young men only; since then it has been coeducational. Two of its early principals were Rev. Israel Newell and Cyrus S. Richards. The former served thirteen years and the latter thirty-six. For a long time it had between two hundred and three hundred students annually, but the statistics of 1913 show only one hundred and forty-four in attendance. It has an agricultural department. Before the close of the last century it had graduated 1,750 students, of whom 333 became clergymen, 26 foreign missionaries, 211 physicians, 313 lawyers, 36 editors,

431 teachers, 7 college presidents, 34 professors, 4 members of congress, and 3 judges of the higher courts. It is still in a flourishing condition, with good buildings and considerable endowment.

Colby Academy is the leading institution of the Baptists in New Hampshire. It is situated in New London, thirty miles northwest of Concord, among the lofty hills and itself on a hilltop 1,350 feet above the level of the sea. First it was called New London Academy, then New London Literary and Scientific Institution, and in 1878 it took the name of Colby Academy in honor of a benefactor, Governor Anthony Colby. The school was opened in 1853, with 120 pupils the first term, and 210 the second. The main building, erected in 1870, stands in a campus of twenty acres. The Heidelberg is the name of the girls' dormitory, having accommodations for twenty-eight boarding pupils. Colby Hall is the corresponding dormitory for boys and accommodates fifty. The gymnasium is between the two dormitories. A new three-story Academy Building and girls' dormitory has been erected since 1911, two hundred feet long. This provides recitation rooms, laboratories, chapel, administration rooms, a dining hall and on the upper floors dormitory rooms for more than fifty persons. There are adequate heating, lighting and water plants. One hundred and seventy-three students were registered in 1912-13. The endowment amounts to more than \$200,000.

Tilton Seminary is under the special patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was first known as the New Hampshire Conference Seminary and was located at Northfield in 1845. The building there was destroyed by fire in 1862, and directly afterward Tilton was made the location of the institution and three buildings were erected on a hill a short distance from the railway station. One of the buildings was burned in 1887, and the present main building was then erected. It is constructed of brick, three hundred and fifty feet long, and contains recitation rooms, offices, parlors, chapel, halls for literary societies, bath rooms, and rooms for teachers and students. The gymnasium is a brick and stone structure, sixty by ninety feet, with shower baths, swimming pool and running track. The Durrell Laboratory contains the chemical laboratory and the manual training department. There are also a Music Studio, the Prin-

cipal's House, the Boys' Cottage and the Chase Cottage, as well as a new Dining Hall, which will accommodate two hundred and fifty persons and is fitted with every convenience. Altogether the collection of buildings is all that could be desired for school purposes. They are furnished with steam heat and electric lights. The necessary expenses of a student may be about \$350, if he rooms alone. The courses of study are classical, English Scientific, English and business. The attendance during the year 1913-14 was three hundred and fourteen, representing twelve States. The Faculty has nineteen members.

New Hampton Academy dates from 1821, when Mr. George Richardson opened a school in a wooden building, 24 by 32 feet, at the Center, a mile or two from the present village. This institution came under the control of the Baptists in 1825 and was known as the Academical and Theological Institution, with Rev. B. F. Farnsworth as principal. Another building was erected in 1826 and still another in 1829. The latter was three-story and built of brick. It served for a dormitory. A theological department was established, which for twenty-three years had an average attendance of twenty-five. A female department about the same time was in operation at the village. This department is said to have had three hundred pupils annually. Students came to this institution from distant States. Forty-five per cent. of them were from outside of New Hampshire. While the Baptists had control it is estimated that as many as 7,500 students were enrolled in this institution. The tuition was low, and there was no endowment. Debts accumulated and for the sake of financial support elsewhere the school was removed to Fairfax, Vermont, in 1853. Empty buildings were left, which the Free Baptists acquired. A new charter was obtained under the name of New Hampton Literary and Biblical Institution, and the entire school became located at the present village, with separate dormitories for ladies and gentlemen and common recitation rooms and chapel. The brick building at the Center was taken down and the material was used in the erection of Randall Hall. Prof. Benjamin Stanton was the first principal. A Biblical or Theological School was established in 1854, with the Rev. Doctors J. J. Butler and John Fullonton as instructors. It had an attendance of about twenty students till 1870, when it was removed to Lewiston, Maine, being there connected with

Bates College and known later as Cobb Divinity School. This has now been discontinued.

This institution has had a useful career and is now in a flourishing condition. It is beautifully situated among the hills. The buildings are commodious and attractive. There is an endowment of \$12,000 or more. The library and apparatus are sufficient for practical purposes. During the year 1913-14 one hundred and sixty-eight students were enrolled, and there are five courses of study and nine professors. The expenses of students are kept down to the lowest possible figure, since many go here who are working their own way to a liberal education.

The Protestant Episcopal Church has its leading school in New Hampshire about two miles west of the State House in Concord and is known as the St. Paul's School. It was incorporated in 1855 and opened the following year with three pupils under the care and instruction of the Rev. Henry A. Coit as rector. The gift of land and original endowment were made by George C. Shattuck, a physician of Boston. His design is thus expressed: "The founder is desirous of endowing a school of the highest class for boys, in which they may obtain an education which shall fit them either for college or business, including thorough intellectual training in the various branches of learning; gymnastic and manly exercises adapted to preserve health and strengthen the physical condition; such aesthetic culture and accomplishments as shall tend to refine the manners and elevate the taste, together with careful moral and religious instruction."

The school has grown to be a village, such is the number of halls, dormitories, residences for professors, infirmary, chapel, work shops, stables, and farm buildings. There are artificial ponds for boating in summer and games of hockey in winter. Tennis courts abound, and athletic grounds for baseball and football. The buildings are large, commodious and costly. No expense is spared in securing the best of instruction and the best of good times and perfect health. The course of study requires six years to prepare for college, and no boy is received over sixteen years of age. Boys are under the oversight and care of tutors continually and given something to do all the time, at play or work. The growth of the school in buildings, endowment and attendance has been remarkable. Hundreds of

boys come from all parts of the nation. Indeed it is a denominational and national institution, rather than a part of the educational system of New Hampshire. The price of tuition and residence is nine hundred and fifty dollars annually, and other expenses, such as for clothing, books, travel and incidentals, make the yearly expense to be twelve hundred dollars or so, while the sons of millionaires can spend more. It is readily seen that this institution is designed to be for the rich, while there are a few scholarships to aid those who have more brains than money. The school has a good reputation for turning out young men of character, well fitted for college. Every trustee of the school must be an Episcopalian, and the services of that denomination are conducted regularly, yet there is no direct effort at proselyting. Young men of other denominations frequent the school, and they do not suffer in their religious training. The aim is to make the school a large family, a home for all who reside there temporarily. Such institutions seem to be needed, but they are on a different plane from that of the high schools and many academies, where the rich and the poor meet together, and sometimes the good and the immoral. The private school has its advantages, and so has the free public school. In either those who want education and character can obtain them. St. Paul's reports forty-eight instructors or masters, three hundred and fifty pupils and an endowment of \$357,000.

The Episcopalians have another school at Holderness, founded in 1879 on what was the estate of Chief Justice Samuel Livermore. The main building has accommodations for seventy pupils, besides apartments for teachers, recitation rooms, etc. There is a beautiful chapel and a fine gymnasium with playgrounds, or an athletic field, if that name is liked better. It is a family school and fits for the leading colleges. The expense is five hundred dollars per annum, one hundred dollars of which are deducted for students coming from New Hampshire. Thus the annual expense for a boy is about half what it is at St. Paul's School, and the fit for college is equally good, no doubt. There is no royal way to scholarship.

Proctor Academy is under the management of the Unitarian Educational Society of New Hampshire. It is situated at Andover and is the outgrowth of the Andover Academy, which was established in 1848. The academy then had two hundred

and fifty pupils, but that was before the days of high schools. The expenses are very moderate, from two hundred to three hundred dollars a year, and there are about sixty pupils.

Old Phillips Exeter Academy, of which something was said in the preceding volume, goes on its way rejoicing in increased endowment and number of students. It is one of the best fitting schools in the United States. The campus and buildings are about all that could be desired; the democratic spirit prevails; emphasis is laid on character and scholarship; there are between five hundred and six hundred in attendance. This institution always has been a blessing and honor to the State and to very many students from other States. There is a group of about twenty-five buildings, and the endowment funds amount to about \$350,000. The annual expense of a student is reckoned to be from \$377 to \$666, and there are scholarships and opportunities for self-help.

Pinkerton Academy at Derry was founded by two brothers of Scotch ancestry, John and James Pinkerton, in 1814. It has been liberally endowed by John H. Pinkerton of Boston, son of James. Piety and learning were the corner stones. A constant stream of graduates has flowed toward Dartmouth College. It now has over two hundred students, about an equal number of boys and girls. Instruction is given in agriculture of a practical character; also in dressmaking, millinery and household arts. The expense is moderate, and self-help is encouraged. This school has good buildings, modern conveniences, good discipline and instruction. The young man or woman in pursuit of knowledge can find it here, and incidentally can also have a good time.

The Brewster Free Academy at Wolfeborough is the successor of the old Wolfeborough and Tuftonborough Academy, which was founded in 1821. In 1866 the building was leased to the Christian Society and was called the Christian Institute. In 1870 the name was changed to the Wolfeborough Institute. The charter was renewed in 1877, and then the name was the Brewster Free Academy, in honor of John Brewster of Cambridge, Massachusetts, a native of Wolfeborough, who heavily endowed the school, so that the income may amount to \$40,000 annually. All expenses are paid from the income. It is free to all who behave and study well, and thus it is a real addition to the public school system. Text books also are free. The

campus of forty acres slopes down to Lake Winnipesaukee. There are the large main building, erected in 1894, a dormitory for girls, and a chemical laboratory. A dormitory for boys is under consideration. Board in private families is inexpensive. The report of 1916 shows an enrollment of one hundred and sixty-five students. There are several courses of study besides the classical. Here is a chance to get an education, amidst beautiful and helpful surroundings, on terms of equality, and at the least possible expense.

Other institutions that have had a useful career are Pembroke Academy, that was founded in 1818 and is still flourishing, Coe's Academy in Northwood, Dow Academy in Franconia, and Sanborn Seminary in Kingston. The last was endowed with \$121,000 by Edward S. Sanborn, a native of Kingston. It has eighty-five pupils, half of them from towns other than Kingston.

There have been few educational institutions for girls only. The Adams' Female Academy flourished at Londonderry for more than half a century after 1823 and was made famous by Miss Mary Lyon, afterward at the head of Mount Holyoke Seminary, now Holyoke College. The Tilden Female Seminary in West Lebanon was conducted successfully for thirty-five years. The Robinson Seminary at Exeter was founded in 1867 by William Robinson, a native of Exeter. It fits young ladies for college and to manage a household. The tuition for pupils who reside in Exeter is free, for others forty dollars a year. Text books are free to all. Board in private houses can be had for from four to six dollars per week. New Hampshire has no separate college for young ladies, though such are being admitted to the State College at Durham every year in increasing numbers. St. Mary's Diocesan School for girls was established at Concord, in 1885, under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church. It has thirty-six house pupils, and twenty-three day pupils. The annual expense is given as four hundred and fifty dollars for board and tuition.

Elegant high school buildings have been erected in the cities and larger towns of New Hampshire. These furnish courses of study and instruction equal to any of the private institutions. The long established and well endowed academies, like the old churches, when they are rich and increased in goods and have need of nothing, are monopolized by the privileged classes to



NEW HAMPSHIRE COLLEGE OF AGRICULTURE AND MECHANIC ARTS

a large extent. The cost is beyond the ability of the toilers, and some of them the middle classes can not afford. The high schools have more of the democratic spirit, while morals and manners are not so safely guarded and well trained.

The parochial schools of the Roman Catholic Church are found in most of the populous cities.

THE STATE COLLEGE.

The crowning institution of the public school system of New Hampshire is the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, at Durham, destined to become a State University and almost that now in spite of its name. It was established at Hanover, in connection with Dartmouth College, in 1866 and was based upon a land grant made by the United States government, valued at \$80,000. Here Culver Hall and Conant Hall were erected, which afterward came into the possession of the college. Congress made some appropriations. The number of students in attendance was small and disappointing. Some thought that the institution ought to be separated from the college. The inducement to do so came in 1891, when an act of the legislature required the trustees to terminate its connection with Dartmouth College and to remove from Hanover to Durham. This was because Benjamin Thompson of Durham had bequeathed property to the institution amounting to \$800,000 with its accumulation of interest down to 1910, when the income of \$32,000 annually became available. The State appropriated \$100,000 for building purposes in 1891 and an additional appropriation of \$35,000 was made in 1893, when the college entered upon its new and expanding career. New buildings have been added from time to time, made necessary by the rapidly increasing number of students and by new courses of study. Its campus has great variety of landscape, with much natural beauty. The college owns three hundred and eighty acres, of which seventy are forest and one hundred and twenty acres are in tillage. There are hill and dale, orchard and woodland, meadow and stream, gardens and greenhouses, race-track and athletic field. Two dormitories house the young women and a large brick dormitory for young men was finished in 1915.

The growth of the college has been phenomenal. In 1893 only thirty students were enrolled and there were seven pro-

fessors in the Faculty. Now, in 1915, there are five hundred and eighteen students, about eighty of whom are young ladies, and the Faculty number fifty, besides twenty-three instructors and assistants that belong to the staff of the Agricultural Experiment Station. Probably three thousand students have already availed themselves of the advantages of this institution, induced in many cases by the reasonableness of expense, which need not exceed three hundred dollars yearly. There are also a goodly number of scholarships that pay the regular tuition of sixty dollars,—and some pay more,—as well as opportunities for partial self-support. There is an excellent gymnasium and the athletic field adjoining welcomes often enough teams and ball clubs from other New England colleges.

The college has a dozen large brick buildings, besides barns and greenhouses, and the number has to be increased about every year. Dormitories for clubs of students and fraternities are scattered through Durham village. The lands and buildings alone are worth half a million dollars. A firm basis has been laid, and the future growth of the college is assured. The application of science to agriculture has made farming in New England a new and attractive business, demanding educated brains as well as muscle. The trolley, the telephone and the rural delivery of mail no longer leave the farm house in lonely isolation. Good roads are bringing the markets nearer. Will women become farmers, and is this the reason why they are admitted to New Hampshire College? Why not? Indeed, this is actually the fact and one of growing importance. Women are now competing with men in every activity that demands educated talent. With a little capital some of them can manage a farm as well as men and make and save more money thereby.

If we look at the list of subjects taught, some of us wish ourselves young again and back on the old farm with our heads full of scientific knowledge, able to toil with skill and imagination. Here they study soils, seeds, farming machinery, domestic animals and their proper care, orcharding, horticulture, forestry, botany and chemistry. If one does not like country life, one can here become fitted to be a chemist, an electrical or mechanical engineer, a surveyor, a teacher, and to handle a great variety of tools. The student learns to do things as well as to philosophize about them.

The military drill, optional in the senior year, is popular when the watchcry is "preparedness." The exercise and the knowledge thus acquired is of value and may be utilized by the nation in time of peril. Such drill will be discontinued when the nations shall learn war no more, or when an international army, under the direction of a Peace Commission, shall police the peoples of the earth, or when the federation of the world shall have been secured.

New Hampshire College recognizes that it should be an educator of the people at large as well as of the students that flock to Durham. Bulletins of very valuable information go forth from the Experiment Station. "A College on Wheels" is the name given to its Extension Service, that sends lecturers throughout the State to teach farmers how to raise fruit, hay, stock, etc., that makes exhibits at fairs, and enrolls whosoever will in agricultural reading courses.

The college has prospered under the successive administrations of Presidents Charles S. Murkland, William D. Gibbs, and Edward Thomson Fairchild. The last was elected president in August, 1912, coming from a long career of educational work in the West. One does not have to strain the eyes to see this institution grow under his tactful and wise management. For seventeen years Prof. Charles H. Pettee, LL.D., has been the dean of the college, going with it from Hanover to Durham, and assisting in the planning of its buildings. He is an alumnus of Dartmouth College and of the Thayer School of Civil Engineering, and has been associated with the New Hampshire College of Agricultural and Mechanic Arts for more than forty years, the friend of all students and promoter of many good works.

Higher education by the State is taking the place of education by Christian denominations, without any perceptible loss to Christianity. New Hampshire ought to have at least one college where young women have equal privileges with young men. New courses of study have been opened recently to young women at Durham, especially in domestic science and household arts. They have courses also in language, history, philosophy and mental science. Why not the fine arts, music and literature? All these departments will be added in due time, and the name will be changed to New Hampshire University. Let the expenses be kept as low as good health and

comfort will allow, and the sons and daughters of farmers and mechanics will gather here for life's inspirations and guidance. Such material will produce during the next fifty years the leaders of the State.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

In the preceding volume the history of Dartmouth College was sketched down to the conclusion of the great "case," wherein Daniel Webster and others saved it from the clutches of Governor Plumer and the legislators, who wanted to make it a State University. Francis Brown was then president of the college, and he worked himself to death in its behalf, dying of consumption in 1820 at the age of twenty-six. He was a native of Chester, a graduate of Atkinson Academy and of Dartmouth College, and pastor of the church at North Yarmouth, Maine. His successor in the presidency was the Rev. Dr. Daniel Dana of Newburyport, who by reason of ill health resigned after six months. The Rev. Bennet Tyler succeeded him and held the office eight years. At this time the college had a military drill and the students contrived a showy uniform, a fad which was short-lived. The college buildings comprised the chapel and Dartmouth Hall, where were twenty-five rooms for students, the greater number preferring to room in private houses. Nearly all were poor and taught school during the winter vacation to pay college expenses. The college was in debt and had little endowment, but all this time it was turning out the great men of its history. The pursuit of knowledge under difficulties has its rewards. If man can not live by bread alone, neither can a college thrive on so much money that it feels its need of nothing else. Such were the limitations that recitations were held in students' rooms and there was no clock in the college. The discipline was very strict. The "Freshman's Bible" laid down rules and regulations that were generally disobeyed. Cards, dancing and theatres were thought to be very sinful, and each day began and ended with chapel exercises. Athletic sports were almost unknown, except that a football was kicked here and there about the campus.

In 1828 the Rev. Nathan Lord became president of the college and remained in office till 1863. He was born at South Berwick, Maine, November 28, 1792, and graduated at Bowdoin



DARTMOUTH HALL

College in 1809, thereafter serving as pastor of the church at Amherst. He was a man of strong character, wise, tactful, firm, courteous. His word was truth and law; a college rebellion could not swerve him from his purpose. His wisdom was shown in the choice of his colleagues in the Faculty. Students poured in to the number of about three hundred and fifty, and the college rivaled Harvard, Yale and Princeton. An observatory was built and quickly followed two brick dormitories, Thornton and Wentworth Halls. Then came Reed Hall, to contain the library, mineralogical museum and philosophical apparatus. In 1851 the Chandler School of Science and the Arts was founded by Abiel Chandler by a bequest of \$50,000. The Chandler Scientific course of study has developed from this benefaction, leading to the degree of Bachelor of Science. In this course the modern languages have taken the place of Greek and Latin. Morning prayers were transferred from before breakfast to half past eight and the chapel service at the close of the day was abolished in 1860.

About the year 1847 President Lord was converted from being an abolitionist to an advocate of slavery as a divine institution, a necessary evil, like war and pestilence. This position he endeavored to fortify by argument in print. His theory was tolerated till the Civil War broke out, and then came such disapproval from the public press and resolutions of conventions that President Lord felt forced to resign. The abolitionists could not bear his accusation that they were attempting to subvert the moral government of God. They interpreted differently the text, "Cursed be Canaan." The trustees of the college voted a resolution opposed to the declared views of President Lord on slavery and the war, and he at once sent in his resignation. The remaining seven years of his life were spent in Hanover, in retirement. To his credit it was remembered that he had built up the college and sent forth into active service 2,675 graduates. Let his many virtues and good deeds counterbalance his one serious defect of judgment.

The Rev. Dr. Asa Dodge Smith of New York was elected president in 1863 and held office till 1877. During his administration the Thayer School of Civil Engineering was founded by Sylvanus Thayer, who was a graduate of the college and an early superintendent of West Point Military School. The en-

dowment amounted to \$73,000. The gifts to the college during the period of his presidency were nearly a million dollars, of which Tappan Wentworth gave one-quarter with instructions that none of it should be used till it had increased to half a million. Those were the days when the president had the magnificent salary of \$1,800 and the full professors had \$1,100 per annum. The tuition fee was raised to sixty dollars in 1867. In 1869 the college celebrated its centennial under a big tent raised upon the campus, amid great enthusiasm and mirth. The Bissell gymnasium was built in 1866, then thought to be a wonder, for it was ninety feet long and had bowling alleys. The Dartmouth Cadets had real guns and uniforms, and militarism revived for a time. The Agricultural Department was inaugurated and Culver Hall was built to house it a little later. President Smith resigned, December 22, 1877, by reason of poor health, and died on the first day of the following March. The college was growing rapidly during his term of service.

The Rev. Dr. Samuel C. Bartlett succeeded him in the presidency, coming from a professorship in Chicago Theological Seminary. He was quite a different sort of man from his predecessor, called by one writer a "live wire." There were dissensions in the Faculty, and some sought his removal, but he held on till 1892, and oppositions subsided to a large extent. He secured the gift of a new chapel from Edward A. Rollins of Philadelphia. Six fully endowed professorships were added. Wilson Hall, a fire-proof library building, was erected by the gift of \$65,000 from George F. Wilson. Other buildings were Bartlett Hall, for the Young Men's Christian Association, Wheelock Hall, Culver Hall and Conant Hall, the last two for the Agricultural Department. During this period the alumni came to have a representation among the college trustees. Over \$700,000 in buildings and endowment were added to the possession of the college. The Mary Hitchcock Hospital was erected, having close relations to the Medical School. Intellectual ability, stubborn independence and an iron will seem to have marked the successful reign of President Bartlett.

Then came the sagacious, courteous, broad-minded and kind-hearted William Jewett Tucker, admired and beloved by hosts of friends. He had graduated from the college in 1861 and had been a leader in the liberal ranks at Andover Theologi-

cal Seminary as professor of sacred rhetoric. For fourteen years he had served as one of the trustees of the college and so knew well its condition and needs. At once there began a flow of students toward Dartmouth. New dormitories had to be erected, fourteen of them in fourteen years, of handsome brick construction, capable of lodging seven hundred students. Enormous plants furnish steam heat and electric light to all the college buildings. The water supply system has been made complete. When old Dartmouth Hall was burned, straightway the alumni contributed \$250,000 to build a better and larger hall, in 1904. A larger gymnasium, at the time the finest in the world, took the place of the Bissell. Dr. Ralph Butterfield of Kansas City left \$141,000 to the college, most of which was spent in erecting Butterfield Hall as a museum of natural history, archaeology and ethnology. Mr. C. T. Wilder of Olcott, Vermont, built the physical laboratory named Wilder Hall at a cost of \$109,000, and later gave \$75,000 more. The Fayerweather bequest, after long litigation, yielded \$223,381 to the college. Edward Tuck, of the class of 1862, increased the endowment to the value of half a million dollars, as a memorial to his father, Hon. Amos Tuck of the class of '35. The Amos Tuck School of Administration and Finance was established as a department of the college, calling forth an additional \$135,000 from Mr. Edward Tuck for a suitable building. Other gifts have made up his benefactions to the amount of \$1,200,000. Lewis Parkhurst of the class of '78 and Mrs. Parkhurst gave the beautiful administration building, known as Parkhurst Hall, in memory of their son, Wilder Lewis Parkhurst, who died at the beginning of his sophomore year in Dartmouth. The corner stone of Webster Hall was laid in 1901, one hundred years after the graduation of Daniel Webster, when there was a great celebration, only excelled by the dedication of the new Dartmouth Hall in 1904, when the Earl of Dartmouth, great-great grandson of the one for whom the college was named, was present with the Countess and their daughter, Lady Dorothy Legge.

President Tucker felt constrained by ill health induced by long care and labor to resign in 1907, yet lingered two years longer, till his successor could be found. This was Dr. Ernest Fox Nichols, a former professor of physics in the college, who had made himself distinguished as an investigator in his beloved

field of study. Toward the end of the year 1915 he felt constrained to resign the presidency in order to return to alluring experimental work in physics at Yale. The college grew in number of students, new buildings and endowment during his years of administration. In 1913 its total assets were valued at \$5,450,281. It keeps its "Dartmouth Grant" of twenty-six thousand acres in the northeast corner of the State. The year-book of 1914-15 reports 1,391 students and ninety-seven professors and instructors. There are eighteen Greek letter societies. The name of Dartmouth is respected on the athletic field of old universities. Dartmouth College, not yet ambitious to be called a University, is more than an educational institution of New Hampshire. It is one of the great national assets. Its graduates and its influence are scattered all over the country for good. It has outstripped the far-seeing hopes of its founders. Indians and negroes are still welcome, for nobody has ever been excluded because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The necessary expenses are moderate, and self-helping students are encouraged.

In 1916 Dr. Ernest Martin Hopkins was elected President of Dartmouth College, an alumnus of the college and its secretary for several years. He has made for himself a reputation as a doctor of human brotherhood and good comradeship in industrial occupations, a leader and inspirer of young men.

Chapter XV

HONORED SONS AS EDUCATORS ABROAD

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An Innumerable Company—Alonzo A. Miner—Thomas Sherwin—Gov. Augustus C. French—Elisha B. Andrews—John S. French of Sandwich Islands—Bishop Philander Chase—Col. Carroll D. Wright—Jeremiah E. Rankin—Cecil F. P. Bancroft—Prof. John P. Marshall—Horace M. Hale—Laura D. Bridgman—John Eaton—James A. B. Stone—Henry T. Durant, Founder of Wellesley College—Eben C. Sprague, Chancellor of the University of Buffalo—Prof. Bradbury L. Cilley—Prof. Samuel Graves—Oren B. Cheney, President of Bates College—Carrol Cutler, President of Western Reserve College—Prof. Alpheus Crosby.

A BRAHAM could count the stars as easily as one could number up the teachers who have gone forth from New Hampshire. Here only a few of the more prominent can be mentioned. Already it has been stated incidentally that Bowdoin College got its first two presidents, McKeen and Appleton, from New Hampshire, and it may be added that President Allen went from Dartmouth to Bowdoin.

Alonzo A. Miner was born in Lempster August 17, 1814. He studied in town schools and academies till he was sixteen years of age and then taught four years before becoming principal of an academy in Cavendish, Vermont. Later he had in charge a school at Unity, N. H. He was ordained a Universalist clergyman in 1839 and after serving as pastor of churches in Methuen and Lowell, Mass., he was called to a church in Boston, where he spent many years of great usefulness. For a score of years he was on the board of overseers of Harvard College and on the Massachusetts State Board of Education. He was president of Tufts College from 1862 to 1875. As a temperance worker and reformer and as an opponent of slavery his voice was often heard in the pulpit and on the public platform. The Prohibition Party of Massachusetts made him their candidate for governor. One of his opponents declared that "Dr. Miner was all right, if he would let rum alone." Harvard gave him the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology and Tufts made him a Doctor of

Laws. He was author of several books and pamphlets and was the prime mover in the establishment of the Universalist Publishing House in Boston. At one time he was editor of the "Star of Bethlehem." He presented \$40,000 to Tufts College to found Divinity Hall. As an advocate of temperance and legal prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating beverages he was in the front rank and was president of the Massachusetts Temperance Alliance, 1870-86. He is said to have preached 6000 times and to have married 2974 couples. After more than forty years of service in one church he died in Boston June 14, 1895.

Thomas Sherwin was born in Westmoreland March 26, 1799, and died in Dedham, Mass., July 23, 1869. His father removed to Temple, where Thomas worked on a farm and attended a country school as he had opportunity. Then he served an apprenticeship to a clothier in Groton, Mass., having a vacation which he spent in Groton Academy. Struggling against poverty he worked and borrowed his way through Harvard College, graduating in 1828. Then he taught an academy in Lexington one year. In 1826-7 he was tutor in mathematics at Harvard College. Then he became a civil engineer and worked on the construction of dry docks in Charlestown and Kittery navy yards. For a short time he had a private school for boys in Boston, whence he was called to be submaster in the Boston English High School, and after ten years was promoted to be head master of the same, continuing in this work for the rest of his life. He made his school famous for its efficiency. He was the author of two books on Algebra, that were in use as text-books. Under his instruction in Boston were 3937 boys, and the impression of his character was lasting with many. He was the originator of the American Institute of Instruction and president of the same. Also he was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology owes much to his helpful activity. Another of his honors was the presidency of the Massachusetts Teachers' Association, in 1845. He deserves to be remembered as one of the leading educators of the United States.

Gov. Augustus C. French was born in Hill, August 2, 1808. After teaching a district school irregularly he entered Dartmouth College, but had not means to finish the course of study. He

returned home, took up the study of law and was admitted to practise in 1823. Soon he went West, lived for a short time in Albion, Illinois, and in 1825 settled in Paris, in the same State. That place sent him to the legislature in 1837, and thereafter he was a political leader. He was elected governor of the State and re-elected in 1848. Thereafter he was Professor of Law in Mc-Kendree College, holding that position many years. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention in 1862. He died in Lebanon, Illinois, in 1868.

Elisha Benjamin Andrews was born in Hinsdale, January 10, 1844. He attended the common school and did farm work till the age of seventeen. Then he enlisted at the outbreak of the Civil War and served till October, 1864, when he was discharged on account of the loss of one eye by a wound. He had been commissioned second lieutenant. He fitted for college at Powers Institute and Wesleyan Academy and graduated at Brown University in 1870. He was principal of Connecticut Literary Institute at Suffield two years and graduated at Newton Theological Institution in 1874. Then he was called to the presidency of Dennison College, at Granville, Ohio, where he remained four years and added to its buildings and endowment. Then he became a professor at Newton, 1879-82. After a year of study in Germany he accepted a professorship of history and political economy in Brown University. In 1888 he was professor of political economy and public finance in Cornell University. In 1889 he was elected president of Brown University and professor of moral and intellectual philosophy. He was United States commissioner to the international monetary conference at Brussels in 1892. On account of some divergence of views he resigned the presidency of Brown University to become for one year superintendent of the schools of Chicago, and then he was elected chancellor of the University of Nebraska. He is the author of a History of the United States and other works of great educative value and is known as a student and man of independent thought—a leader among the educators of the nation.

John Smith French, D. D., was born at Chester, December 28, 1800, and died at Waialua, Sandwich Islands, March 28, 1867. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1826 and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1830. The next year he sailed for Honolulu, where he was pastor of a church at Waialua for

thirty-two years, except four years in which he was a professor in a seminary. He visited the United States in 1860 and received the degree of Doctor of Medicine. In his long pastorate in the Sandwich Island he baptized about 1200 persons. He published five volumes of elementary text-books and was joint author of an English-Hawaiian dictionary. He saw a group of populous islands converted from cannibalism to Christianity and a system of schools established among them, where the English language and literature were taught. Thus the Sandwich Islands were fitted to become a part of the United States of America. Every foreign missionary is first of all a teacher of truth and righteousness.

Bishop Philander Chase was born at Cornish, December 14, 1775, and was graduated at Dartmouth College in 1796. There he became by reading a convert to the faith of the Protestant Episcopal Church. After graduation he served as rector at Poughkeepsie, New York, New Orleans, La., and Hartford, Conn., remaining six years in the last place. Animated by the missionary spirit he went to Ohio when that was the western frontier, in 1818, and there organized many churches. He was consecrated bishop of Ohio in 1819. Feeling the need of schools wherein to train men for the Christian ministry he went to England and collected gifts amounting to \$30,000, with which he founded Kenyon College and Gambier Theological School in connection therewith. Both were located at Gambier, Ohio, and were named for English contributors to the above-mentioned collection. Eight thousand acres of land were purchased, and Bishop Chase found himself not only president of a college, but also farmer and lord of a manor, on a salary of \$800 per annum. Revenues came from cultivation of the soil, wheat-growing and sheep-raising. Needing more funds he solicited contributions of one dollar and thus raised about \$25,000. Mills, a store and a hotel were run for the benefit of the college. In 1831 dissensions between the bishop and some of the clergy led him to resign his offices of bishop and president, and he took up a large tract of land in Michigan. Again he went to England and secured \$10,000 with which he began a new college. This was at Robin's Nest, Illinois, and was called Jubilee College, begun in 1838. In 1835 he had been elected bishop of Illinois. He was by far the most prominent and energetic of the missionaries of the Protestant

Episcopal Church in the West. He published several works, including an autobiography, in two volumes, 1848. He died at Jubilee College September 20, 1852, worthy of honor for his missionary spirit and consecrated activity.

Col. Carroll D. Wright, son of Rev. Nathan R. and Eliza (Clark) Wright, was born in Dunbarton, July 25, 1840. He received his early education in the academies at Washington, Alstead and Swansey and the high school of Reading, Mass., and was fitted for the junior class in college, but was prevented by frail health from taking the full college course of study. He began the study of law at Keene in 1860. In the autumn of 1862 he enlisted in the 14th regiment of New Hampshire volunteers. He was promoted from private to second lieutenant and then to be adjutant. He was on staff duty as colonel of his regiment under Gen. Sheridan in 1864. An attack of typhoid fever caused his resignation before the close of the war. Returning to Keene he resumed the practice of law and in 1867 removed to Boston and made a specialty of patent law. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Senate, 1872-3, and was made chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1873. Then began his remarkable career as a statistician and student of social labor reforms. In this capacity he served till 1888, during which time he was appointed United States commissioner to Europe to study the factory system for the census of 1880. He was United States Commissioner of Labor from 1885 to 1905, and was in charge of the eleventh United States census.

Colonel Wright was University lecturer at Harvard on the factory system, 1881, and held appointments to lecture upon statistics and labor at Johns Hopkins, University of Michigan, Northwestern University, and Harvard. He was honorary professor of social economics at the Catholic University of America, 1895 to 1904; professor of statistics and social economics at Columbian (now George Washington) University, since 1900; president of Clark College, Worcester, Mass., since 1902, and professor of statistics and economic science in Clark University since 1904. He was a member of many learned societies, among others the American Statistical Association, from 1876; fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, from 1892; American Antiquarian Society, from 1893, and the Washington Academy of Science. He was trustee of the Car-

negie Institution from its foundation in 1902. He was a member and recorder of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission of 1902. He had been a member of the British Economic Association, from 1891; of the Royal Statistical Society of England, from 1893; of the Society of the Friends of Natural Sciences, Anthropology and Ethnography at the Imperial University of Moscow, from 1904; of the International Association for Comparative Jurisprudence and Political Economy, Berlin, from 1897; Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, since 1898; and honorary member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Russia, since 1898. He was honored with all the scholastic degrees from various colleges.

He was a member of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, received the Cross of the French Legion of Honor and was a Chevalier of the Order of Saints Lazzaro and Mauritz, Italy. He was president of the National Unitarian Association 1896 to 1899. He was the author of many volumes on subjects related to Political Economy, Sociology, etc. He died at Worcester, Mass., February 20, 1909.¹

The Rev. Jeremiah Eames Rankin, born in Thornton, January 2, 1828, was son of the Rev. Andrew and Lois (Eames) Rankin, of Scottish descent. He was educated at Middlebury, Vermont, and Andover Theological Seminary. He had pastorates at Potsdam, N. Y., St. Albans, Vt., Lowell and Boston, Mass., and Washington, D. C. In his last church at the national capital he remained fifteen years and exerted all his influence in favor of the education of the freedmen of the South. Fred Douglass said of him, "He has done more to secure the rights of my race than all the legislation of congress." He was for some years a professor in Howard University and served as its president from 1890 to 1902. He was twice delegate to the Methodist General Conference and once to the Congregational Union of England and Wales. Many sermons were published by him, as well as popular hymns, among the latter, "God be with you till we meet again." He was a frequent contributor to reviews and newspapers. His name was known and honored throughout the United States and in Great Britain. He died November 28, 1904.

Prof. Cecil P. P. Bancroft was born in New Ipswich, November 25, 1839. He was fitted for college at Appleton Academy,

¹ See *Granite Monthly*, XLI. 142.

graduated at Dartmouth in 1860 and at Andover Theological Seminary 1867. Meanwhile he had been principal of an academy at Mt. Vernon, Vermont, for four years. For five years more he was at the head of Lookout Mountain Institute, near Chattanooga, Tenn. Then he studied at the University of Halle and traveled in Europe. While at Rome he was elected principal of Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., where he had been previously teacher of the classics four months. Here he found his life work and the institution prospered greatly under his direction. Six thousand students were under his care, and he had the respect and affection of his pupils. He was a trustee of Dartmouth College and president of its alumni association. Yale honored him with the degree of Doctor of Laws, and the University of the State of New York made him a Doctor of Philosophy, while nature and his own acquirements made him a doctor (teacher) of manliness, high ideals, studious habits and noble character. He died in Andover, Mass., October 4, 1901.

Prof. John Potter Marshall was born at Kingston, August 11, 1823. He fitted for college at Kingston and Atkinson Academies and graduated at Yale in 1844. For some years he was principal of Chelsea High School, while serving at the same time as a professor in Tufts College. For forty-five years he served that college, mainly in the chair of geology and mineralogy. During the Civil War he spent two years in hospital service in the South. He traveled extensively in England, Germany and Italy. His death occurred at College Hill, February 4, 1901.

Horace Morrison Hale was born at Hollis, March 6, 1833, great grandson of Colonel John Hale, who fought at Bunker Hill. He was educated at Genesee College, Lima, N. Y., and Union College, Schenectady, where he graduated in 1856. He worked his way through college without any financial aid whatever. Then he taught at West Bloomfield, N. Y., and Nashville, Tenn. In 1861 he went to Detroit and studied law. Then he went West for health and taught in Colorado. In 1873 he was made superintendent of public instruction in Colorado. For some years he was principal of the school at Central City and served as mayor of that city. Later he was president of the University of Colorado. Altogether he spent forty years in school work and stamped his character upon a host of growing minds.

Who has not heard of Laura Dewey Bridgman, the blind

and deaf mute? She was born in Hanover, December 21, 1829, and died in Boston, May 24, 1889. A fever, when she was two years of age, deprived her of sight, hearing, sense of smell and partially of taste. She was sent to Perkins' Institute for the Blind, at Boston, and there became well educated and a teacher of others. Loss of speech followed loss of hearing. She learned to read by touch, and this sense became wonderfully developed, so that she could readily tell persons as well as objects by this sense. Her mind became so active that she would talk with the sign language while asleep. Her life shows how an imprisoned soul may burst its bars. Boundless capacities may be in those persons who by reason of physical limitations have no means of expression.

John Eaton was born in Sutton, December 5, 1829. He worked on a farm and taught school at the age of sixteen. Thetford Academy, Vermont, was the place where he fitted for college and he graduated at Dartmouth in 1854. After a year as principal of a school in Cleveland, Ohio, he became superintendent of schools at Toledo and remained there three years. Then he studied at Andover Theological Seminary. In 1861 he entered the Union Army as chaplain of the 24th Ohio Infantry. General Grant said of him, "Under him the freedmen's bureau had its origin in the Mississippi valley." He gathered the negroes in camps and organized many thousands of them into regiments. He became colonel of the 63rd regiment of United States colored infantry and later was made a brigadier-general. At the close of the war he founded a paper called the *Memphis Post* and edited it two years. From 1867 to 1869 he was State Superintendent of public instruction in Tennessee and organized its first school system. In 1870 he was appointed commissioner of the bureau of education and held that office sixteen years. Many difficulties and oppositions of the unbelieving encountered him at the beginning of this work, but when he resigned he had thirty-eight assistants, an educational library of 18,000 volumes, besides many pamphlets, and the most influential educational office in the world. This department was consulted by several foreign nations to aid them in the establishment of school systems. He gathered information from all parts of the world and published it in his annual reports. In 1886 he became president of Marietta College and after a successful period of twelve years

became president of still another institution in Salt Lake City, known as the Sheldon Jackson College. In 1899 he was appointed by the United States government superintendent of instruction in Porto Rico and organized the educational system of that island. He was author of many educational pamphlets and addresses. Rutgers College gave him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and Dartmouth made him a Doctor of Laws. He died in Washington, D. C., February 9, 1906, having done a lifework of great educational value.

James A. B. Stone was born at Piermont, October 28, 1810. He was educated at Middlebury College and Andover Theological Seminary. Teaching occupied his time for a few years at Hinesburg College and Middlebury College. Then he substituted for a year for Professor Hackett at Newton Theological Institution. From 1843 to 1849 he was pastor of a Baptist church at Kalamazoo, Michigan, and from 1843 to 1863 he was president of the college there and professor of intellectual philosophy. His wife was a teacher for some time. Their home was a resort for lecturers on abolition and equal suffrage, in which both were firm believers. Colgate University honored him with the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He died at Detroit, May 19, 1888.

Henry Towle Durant was born in Hanover, February 20, 1822. Graduating at Harvard in 1841 he studied with Gen. Benjamin F. Butler. It was then that he changed his name, which previously had been Henry Welles Smith. His legal practice was lucrative and he added to his wealth by engaging in business enterprises, being among other things interested in iron mines in northern New York. The death of his only son turned him to religious work and he was active as an evangelist and lay preacher. Holyoke Seminary elected him a trustee. Under his direction and by means of his gifts the cornerstone of Wellesley College was laid in 1871, on an estate of three hundred acres that had been his summer home. The main building with equipment cost \$1,000,000. He endowed the college so that the annual income was \$50,000. His aim was not to glorify himself, and he would not allow his name to be given to the college; he simply wanted to found an educational institution that would uphold and inculcate the Christian religion. He was a man of fine personal appearance, and an impressive speaker. He gave

himself and his all for the welfare of others. His death occurred October 3, 1881.

Eben Carlton Sprague was born in Bath, November 26, 1822. Four years later he removed with his father to Buffalo, N. Y. He was educated at Phillips Academy, Andover, and Harvard College. He studied law and practiced fifty years in Buffalo. For several years he was chancellor of the university in that city. He was prominent as a lawyer and educator, and a man of such character and ability as won the respect and admiration of a large circle of acquaintances. Harvard gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws. He died February 14, 1895.

Bradbury L. Cilley was born at Nottingham, September 6, 1838, great grandson of General Joseph Cilley and General Enoch Poor of the Revolution. He prepared for college at Phillips Exeter Academy and graduated at Harvard in 1858. After teaching a short time in Albany Academy he was called to a professorship of ancient languages in Phillips Exeter Academy, where after 1871 he taught Greek alone. Thus his whole life was identified with that institution and he did much to increase its power and usefulness. He died March 31, 1899.

Samuel Graves, D.D., was born at Acworth, March 25, 1830. He graduated at Madison University, N. Y., in 1844, and at Hamilton Theological Seminary two years later. Then he became tutor of mathematics and Greek in his *Almer Mater* for three years. He was ordained to the ministry at Ann Arbor and served there, 1849-52. Then he was professor of Greek at Kalamazoo College and of ecclesiastical history in the theological seminary, 1851-9. He was pastor of the Central Church, Norwich, Conn., 1859-69, and at Grand Rapids, Mich., 1870-85. He was president of Atlanta Seminary 1885-95. He wrote many articles for the religious press and published "Outlines of Theology." He died at Grand Rapids, January 20, 1895.

Oren Burbank Cheney was born in Ashland, December 10, 1816, and as a boy worked in his father's mill. He prepared for college at Parsonsfield Seminary and New Hampton Institute and was graduated at Dartmouth in 1830. He taught in academies at Farmington, Maine, Parsonsfield, Maine, Greenland and Strafford. He studied for the ministry at Whitestown Seminary and was licensed to preach in 1843. His first pastorate was at West Lebanon, Maine, where he founded an Academy. Then

he was for five years pastor of a church in Augusta, Maine. He was the principal agent in establishing the Maine State Seminary in Lewiston, Maine, and was its president from 1857 to 1863, when it became Bates College, and he continued at its head till 1894. Its growth has been rapid from the beginning, and it is now one of the largest "small colleges" in New England, having about five hundred students. Dr. Cheney received his degree from Wesleyan University in 1865. He was instrumental in endowing Storer College, at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, by securing \$10,000 from John Storer of Sanford, Me. Twelve times he was delegate to the general conference of Free Baptist churches and three times moderator. He died at Lewiston, Maine, December 22, 1903.

Carrol Cutler, D.D., was born in Windham, January 31, 1829, and was educated at Phillips Academy, Andover, and Yale College, where he was graduated in 1854. After teaching a year at Bloomfield, N. J., he studied for the ministry at Union Theological Seminary and at Princeton. He was a tutor in Yale College, 1856-8, traveled one year in Europe, was lieutenant in an Ohio regiment in 1862 and colonel in the State militia, 1863-4. He was professor of Rhetoric and Mental Philosophy in Western Reserve College, now Adelbert College, at Hudson, Ohio, 1860-89, and its president, 1873-89, preaching regularly in the college church. He was professor of Ethics and Theology in Riddle University, Charlotte, N. C., 1889-91, and in Talladega College, 1891-4. Among his eight book publications are "Defense and Confirmation; Ellicott Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion," "The Beginnings of Ethics," and "Joint Education of Men and Women in Adelbert College."

Alpheus Crosby was born in Sandwich, October 13, 1810. His preparatory studies were at Gilmanton and Phillips Exeter Academies, and he was graduated at Dartmouth in 1827. At once he began teaching in Moor's Charity School and then served three years as tutor in Dartmouth College. After studying for the ministry in Andover Theological Seminary he became professor of Greek and Latin Languages and Literature at Dartmouth, where he remained many years. He became agent of the Massachusetts Board of Education and lecturer in Teachers' Institutes, 1854-6, and principal of the Massachusetts State Normal School at Salem, 1857-65. He died at Salem, April 17, 1874.

Among his publications was a Greek Grammar, Greek Tables, Greek Lessons, Xenophon's Anabasis, Eclogae Latinae and First Lessons in Geometry.

Chapter XVI

FRANKLIN PIERCE—PRESIDENT

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FRANKLIN PIERCE—PRESIDENT.

Political Situation in 1852—A Divided Democracy Once More United—Democratic National Convention at Baltimore—Franklin Pierce the Nominee—Ancestry and Public Career—Strict Constructionist of the Constitution—His Pro-Slavery Views—His Election and Inaugural—A Remarkable Cabinet—Kansas-Nebraska Act Overshadows a Notably Successful Administration—Renomination Denied—Retirement—Genuine Patriot, and Lover of Country—Though Villified and Maligned, State Does His Memory Justice and So Honors Itself.

WHEN the Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore, June 1, 1852, the administration of national affairs was in the hands of the Whigs. Questions connected with slavery had in the campaign of 1848 split the Democratic party into factions, and the support given by more than one-fourth of the Democrats at the north to Martin Van Buren as an independent candidate, had resulted in the defeat of Lewis Cass, the regular Democratic nominee, and the consequent election of the Whig candidates for President and Vice-President, Zachary Taylor and Millard Fillmore.

The Whig administration had been confronted with a serious task. The organization of the vast territory acquired as a result of the war with Mexico, had not only made the subject of slavery in the Territories a leading political issue, but had precipitated agitation and contest recognized as fraught with danger.

The result of this agitation was what were known as the "Compromise" Measures of 1850, which were at first included in a single measure known as the "omnibus bill," but later separated, when each feature of the bill was passed on by itself. California was to be admitted as a State without restriction as to slavery; slavery was not to be abolished in the District of Columbia; Texas was to receive ten million dollars for yielding her claim to New Mexico; Utah and New Mexico were to be organized as new Territories; and last and most fateful of all, as subsequent

¹ Contributed by William F. Whitcher. See Vol. II., p. 151.

events proved, a new and more stringent fugitive slave law was to be enacted. Party lines were not drawn on the passage of these measures which were supported alike by leading Whigs and Democrats, and were opposed alike by leading pro-slavery Southern extremists on the one hand, and the radical anti-slavery extremists of the North on the other. President Taylor died while the measures were pending, but the bills were promptly signed by President Fillmore who as Vice-President became his constitutional successor.

The supporters of these measures believed that by their enactment, the slavery issue, which had become a troublesome one, was finally settled, and that any reopening of the question would be regarded by the people of the country as unpatriotic and meddlesome. In the Democratic party acquiescence in the settlement was general. The division which had lost it the election in 1848 was apparently closed up and healed. The Democrats in 1851 had carried the elections in most of the States as against the Whigs who had lost the support of the anti-slavery wing of the party, who had become known as "Conscience Whigs." It was evident that for the presidential campaign of 1852 anything like a hearty union among the Whigs was out of the question, but could the Democrats find a candidate unobjectionable to both wings of a formerly divided party, and so go into the contest a united party, their success was reasonably assured.

It was under these conditions and with such prospects that the National Democratic Convention met in Baltimore on the 1st of June. There had been much discussion and more or less of intrigue on the part of the leaders for months preceding the convention. Naturally the leading candidate for the presidential nomination was Gen. Lewis Cass of Michigan who had been defeated by the Van Buren or Barnburner defection of 1848. The candidacy of James Buchanan of Pennsylvania was being urged by his friends, as was also that of Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and William L. Marcy of New York, but if the two-thirds rule was to continue in force, the nomination of either of these candidates was hardly expected either by their friends or by the public. The "dark horse" experience of 1844 loomed up threateningly. As was expected the two-thirds rule was adopted by an overwhelming majority. The struggle over the nomination was a protracted one, no less than forty-nine ballots being had before



Franklin Pierce

a choice was made. On the first ballot General Cass had 116; James Buchanan 95; William L. Marcy 27; Stephen A. Douglas 20; Joseph Lane 13; Samuel Houston 8, and there were 4 scattering. The number necessary to a choice was 188. In the succeeding ballots up to the twenty-ninth, the vote for Gen. Cass fell off while that for Mr. Douglas steadily increased, the 29th trial resulting: Cass 27; Buchanan 93; Douglas 91; no other candidate receiving more than 26. Cass then began to gain, until on the 35th ballot he received his largest number of votes, 131. It was on this the 35th trial that Virginia gave her 15 votes for Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, whose name then appeared for the first time in the list of candidates. On the 36th ballot he received 30 votes, and the subsequent increase in his vote was small, his vote on the 48th ballot being 55; Cass 73; Buchanan 28; Douglas 33; Marcy 90; all others 8. The break or stampede came on the next, the 49th ballot, when 282 votes were cast for Pierce to six for all others.

Franklin Pierce was born in Hillsborough, Nov. 23, 1804, the fourth son of Benjamin and Anna (Kendrick) Pierce. Benjamin Pierce was a native of Massachusetts, a soldier in the War of the Revolution, holding the rank of captain and brevet major. After the declaration of peace he removed to New Hampshire, locating near what is now Hillsborough. He was twice married. His second wife, mother of his son Franklin, was Anna Kendrick of Amherst. Benjamin Pierce was an active public spirited citizen of his adopted state. He became sheriff of Hillsborough County, a member of the state legislature, of the Governor's Council, and was twice elected governor, as a Democrat, first in 1827, and again in 1829. He was a Democrat of the Jeffersonian school, a strict constructionist in the interpretation of the Constitution, a partisan of the rights of the states as against a tendency to centralization of power in the Federal Government. Governor Pierce was for years recognized as one of the most influential, if not indeed the most influential citizen of his state. He died in 1839. His son Franklin received his academic education in the Hancock, Frantestown and Exeter institutions, and in 1820 before he had completed his sixteenth year entered Bowdoin College, from which he graduated in 1824, the third in his class. Among the students at Bowdoin during his course were Nathaniel Hawthorne, his classmate, biographer and life-long friend, Henry

W. Longfellow, Sergeant S. Prentiss, orator and legislator, Prof. Calvin E. Stowe, and John P. Hale, his future political rival. After graduation he began the study of law in the office of Levi Woodbury of Portsmouth, remaining there about a year. He then spent two years in a law school in Northampton, Mass., and in the office of Judge Edmund Parker at Amherst, was admitted to the bar in 1827, at the age of twenty-three, and began practice in Hillsborough. He became interested in politics and ardently espoused the cause of Andrew Jackson, and in 1829 was elected to represent Hillsborough in the legislature, was re-elected in 1830, 1831 and 1832, the last two years serving as Speaker of the House. In 1833 he was elected to the National House of Representatives, was re-elected in 1835, and in his four year's service was a member of the judiciary and other important committees. In 1834 he married Miss Jane Means Appleton, daughter of President Appleton of Bowdoin. In 1837 he was elected to the United States Senate, and took his seat at the beginning of the Van Buren administration, the youngest member of that body. On account of the ill health of his wife he resigned his seat in June, 1842, and returned to New Hampshire to resume the practice of his profession. Four years previously he had changed his residence from Hillsborough to Concord. In 1845 he declined the offer of an appointment by Governor Steele to fill a vacancy in the Senate. He had previously declined a nomination by the Democratic State Convention for governor. He was offered by President Polk the position of Attorney-General, a position which undoubtedly was greatly in harmony with his professional aspirations. His letter of declination was characteristic of the man. In it he wrote :

Although the early years of my manhood were devoted to public life, I was never really suited to my task. I longed, as I am sure you must often have done, for the quiet and independence that belong only to the private citizen; and now at forty, I feel that desire stronger than ever. . . . When I resigned my seat in the Senate in 1842, I did it with the fixed purpose never again to be voluntarily separated from my family for any considerable length of time, except at the call of my country in time of war. . . . You will, I am sure, appreciate my motives. You will not believe that I have weighed my personal convenience and ease against the public interest, especially as the office is one which, if not sought, would be readily accepted by gentlemen who could bring to your aid attainments and qualifications vastly superior to mine."

There is no doubt that at this time it was his purpose to spend his life in private and professional toil, except as he had written "at the call of my country in time of war." That time was nearer at hand than he then anticipated. In 1846, when war was declared with Mexico, he enlisted as a private in a volunteer company organized at Concord; was soon after commissioned colonel of the Ninth Infantry, on March 3, 1847 was commissioned brigadier-general in the Volunteer Army, and on March 27 embarked for Mexico, arriving at Vera Cruz June 28. He joined General Scott with his brigade, Aug. 6, 1847, and soon after set out for the capture of the city of Mexico. He took part in the battle of Contreras, Sept. 19, 1847, in which engagement he was severely injured by being thrown from his horse. In spite of injuries of a most serious character, he persisted in remaining on duty in the subsequent operations of the army. His conduct and services were spoken of in the highest terms by his superior officers, Generals Scott, Worth and Pillow. Previous to the battle of Molino del Rey he was appointed one of the American Commissioners in an effort for peace, a truce having been declared for that purpose. This failing, fighting was renewed. He participated in the decisive battle of Molino del Rey, and continued on duty until the declaration of peace. He resigned his commission in March, 1848, and returned to Concord. In that same month the legislature of his state voted him a sword-of-honor in appreciation of his military service. He resumed his practice, a highly successful one. In 1850 he was a member of the Constitutional Convention which met at Concord to amend the Constitution of the State and was chosen its presiding officer. He favored the removal of the religious test clause by which Roman Catholics were disqualified from holding office, and also the abolition of any "property qualification" whatever. It was largely by his personal influence that these two amendments were carried in the convention, but were later defeated by the people at the polls.

At the Democratic State Convention in January, 1852, a declaration in favor of his nomination for President was made, but in a letter dated January 12, he positively refused to permit the state delegation to present his name. He wrote to his friend Charles G. Atherton, a member of the New Hampshire delegation to the convention:

I am far from being insensible to the generous confidence, so often manifested towards me by the people of this state; and although the object indicated in the resolution, having particular reference to myself, be not one of desire on my part, the expression is not on that account less gratifying.

Doubtless, the spontaneous and just appreciation of an intelligent people is the best earthly reward for earnest and cheerful service to ones state and country; and while it is a matter of unfeigned regret that my life has been so barren of usefulness, I shall ever hold this and similar tributes among my cherished recollections.

To these, my sincere and grateful acknowledgments, I desire to add, that the same motives which induced me several years ago, to retire from public life, and which since that time, controlled my judgment in this respect, now impel me to say that the use of my name, *in any event*, before the Democratic national convention at Baltimore, to which you are a delegate would be utterly repugnant to my tastes and wishes.

With this letter, so far as the personal attitude of Gen. Pierce was concerned, the incident was closed. New Hampshire in deference to his wish did not present his name. Virginia contrary to his wish did present it, after it became evident that no one of the candidates before the convention could win, and he was nominated. The nomination was made deliberately. There was no stampede. Franklin Pierce was no dark horse. His position on the vital issues of the day was well known. He was a Democrat, an unwavering adherent of the doctrines of the party enunciated by Jefferson and Madison. While a member of the House he had enthusiastically supported President Jackson's veto of the Maysville Road bill, a measure which was part of a system of vast public works, chiefly railroads and canals, which it was proposed to undertake at the expense of the national treasury, a policy which had been fostered by President John Quincy Adams, and which had gained large favor at the close of his administration. The cost of works undertaken or projected at the beginning of the Jackson administration amounted to more than a hundred millions of dollars, an enormous sum for that time. The ground of the support of the veto by the young Congressman was that the expenditure of this sum, and of other incalculable amounts, in progressive increase, by agents and officers of the government, and for purposes of unascertained utility, would be not only a means of political corruption, but from its tendency to consolidate the powers of government towards a common centre, a peril to the individuality of states.

When Jackson declared war against this system in his famous Maysville veto, one of his staunchest supporters was the youthful Congressman from New Hampshire. He doubted the constitutional power of Congress to undertake by building roads through the wilderness, or opening up unfrequented rivers, to create commerce where it did not yet exist. At the same time he never questioned both the right and duty of the general government to remove obstructions in the way of inland trade and to afford it every facility when the nature and necessity of things had brought such trade into existence. In 1836 he spoke against a bill making appropriations for the military academy at West Point, contending that the institution was aristocratic in its tendencies, that a professional soldiery and standing armies are always dangerous to the liberties of the people, and that in war the best reliance of a republic is upon her citizen militia. When, however, years afterwards, he was baptized into the soldier life in the battle smoke of Mexico, he frankly acknowledged himself to have been in the wrong, and West Point, as an institution, found no warmer defender than himself. In December, 1835, he spoke and voted against receiving petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. This was not because he loved or defended slavery for slavery's sake. He loved the Union, the Union of the States as guaranteed by the Constitution, and from the stand he took on the slavery question at that time he never subsequently swerved. The situation has been admirably and tersely described by the late Oliver E. Branch, a constitutional lawyer of acknowledged ability, in his oration at the dedication of the Pierce statue in Concord in November, 1914:

"When the Federal Constitution was framed and adopted, slavery was of necessity recognized as an ineluctable part of the social and political system, which must be so regarded, and consequently allowed and protected. The Federal Union could not be created without the concurrence of the southern states, nor the Federal Constitution adopted without their votes, and to have proposed and insisted at that critical time, even had there been any great sentiment in favor of it, that slavery could be abolished, would have been equivalent to saying that there should be no Federal Union and Constitution.

"And so upon the quicksands of slavery was built the majestic temple of liberty. Such a condition of things was of course an anomaly. Here was a people that proposed a new era in government. They announced as the foundation principle of that government, the largest freedom to

all consistent with the rights of all, and that 'all men are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' And yet that people actuated by the purest motives and the highest patriotism, and proclaiming a code of political principles, as luminous as a star, were by an overmastering necessity, compelled at the very outset of their career to violate and affront those principles when put into practical operation, by preserving and fostering under their organic law an institution as dark as 'Erebus and old Night.' . . . There was one capital defect in the Federal Constitution. It left the question in dispute whether the states constituted a nation, an indissoluble union of indestructible states, or a mere confederation of absolutely independent states, which had reserved to themselves the same choice and power to withdraw from the Union, when in their judgment they saw fit, as they had to join it in the beginning. The former is the true theory, said the North; the latter is the true theory, said the South. Nor was the South alone in her interpretation of the nature of Union. It prevailed to a large extent in the North among Democrats, Whigs, Republicans and Abolitionists. It was a question of constitutional law, which neither Webster nor Calhoun could decide, but so long as an honest difference of opinion was possible, so long the stability of the government and the permanence of the Union were imperiled. . . . Naturally Mr. Pierce's point of view in regard to these great questions was that of the trained constitutional lawyer, who believed that the safety and perpetuity of the Union absolutely depended upon a strict adherence to the Federal Constitution, and the decisions of the supreme court in cases where those laws were involved, and that if the restraints of the Constitution and of the courts upon the powers of Congress were destroyed, the destruction of the Union would be the unescapable consequence and result."

Franklin Pierce never defended the institution of slavery for slavery's sake. He was confronted by slavery firmly entrenched in half the states of the Union, protected and buttressed by the Federal Constitution, the Federal Statutes, the decisions of the Supreme Court, representing millions of money invested in slaves, and threatened secession and disruption of the Union if the right to hold slaves was assailed. With him the Union, its integrity, its perpetuity was first. After his retirement from official public life on his resignation from the Senate, there was nothing equivocal in his position on political questions. He advocated the annexation of Texas, declaring that while he preferred it free he would take it with slavery rather than not have it at all. When John P. Hale accepted a Democratic nomination to Congress in a letter denouncing annexation, Pierce was prime mover in calling another convention which repudiated Hale and nominated another candidate. In October, 1850, after the enact-

ment by Congress of the famous Compromise measures of that year, the Democratic State Convention of New Hampshire nominated for governor Rev. John Atwood on a platform fully and unreservedly endorsing the Compromise measures. Mr. Atwood accepted the nomination, but it was subsequently learned that he had been cajoled into writing a letter in which he denounced the Fugitive Slave Act—one of the Compromise measures—as unjust, oppressive and unconstitutional. The publication of this letter was being held back by the opponents of the Democratic party till the eve of the election. This letter he repudiated, and then repudiated his repudiation. Gen. Pierce, the acknowledged leader of his party in his state, secured the call of another convention and at the risk of party success, the repudiation of Mr. Atwood and the nomination of another candidate, who though failing of an election by the people was elected by the legislature. Gen. Pierce championed the Compromise measures of 1850, and zealously defended Webster from the attacks made on him for his famous Seventh of March speech. By degrees the excitement over the Compromise measures had subsided and at the beginning of 1852 there had come to be a general acquiescence in them, sullen and half hearted in some quarters—as a final settlement of the slavery question.

The platform adopted by the convention was made up of the previous platforms of the party with some additions. The first, second, fourth, fifth and seventh planks of the platform of 1840 covered the questions of internal improvements, tariff, revenue and slavery, and were as follows:

“1. *Resolved*, that the federal government is one of limited powers derived solely from the Constitution, and the grants of power shown therein ought to be strictly construed by all the departments and agents of the government, and that it is inexpedient and dangerous to exercise doubtful constitutional powers.

“2. *Resolved*, that the Constitution does not confer upon the general government the power to commence or carry on a general system of internal improvement.

“4. *Resolved*, that justice and sound policy forbid the federal government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interest of one portion to the injury of another portion of our country; that every citizen and every section of the country has a right to demand and insist upon an equality of rights and privileges, and to complete an ample protection of person and property from domestic violence or foreign aggression.

"5. *Resolved*, that it is the duty of every branch of the government to enforce and practice the most rigid economy in conducting our public affairs, and that no more revenue ought to be raised than is required to defray the necessary expenses of the government.

"7. *Resolved*, that Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything pertaining to their own affairs not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists, or others, made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous results, and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the permanence and stability of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend to our political institutions."

The Democratic platform of 1844 and 1848 contained these same planks as did the platform of 1852 upon which Gen. Pierce was nominated, but the seventh resolution of 1840 above quoted was in 1852 supplemented by two others on the same subject, viz.:

"Resolved, that the foregoing proposition covers, and is intended to embrace, the whole subject of slavery agitated in Congress; and therefore the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by, and adhere to, a faithful execution of the acts known as the 'compromise' measures settled by the last Congress,—the act for reclaiming fugitives from service or labor included; which act being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot with fidelity thereto be repealed, nor so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

"Resolved, that the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing in Congress, or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt be made."

All this was certainly explicit, but not more so than were the resolutions intended to state the attitude of the party on the much discussed question of state sovereignty or state rights. These were:

"Resolved, that the Democratic party will faithfully abide by and uphold the principles laid down in the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1792 and 1798, and in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia legislature in 1799; that it adopted those principles as constituting one of the main foundations of its political creed, and is resolved to carry them out in their obvious meaning and import.

"Resolved, that in view of the condition of popular institutions in the Old World, a high and sacred duty is devolved, with increased responsibility upon the Democracy of this Country, as the party of the people, to uphold and maintain the rights of every State, and thereby the union of

States, and to sustain and advance among them constitutional liberty, by continuing to resist all monopolies and exclusive legislation for the benefit of the few at the expense of the many, and by a vigilant and constant adherence of those principles and compromises of the Constitution, which are sacred enough and strong enough to embrace and uphold the Union as it is, and the Union as it should be, in the full expansion of the energies and capacity of this great and progressive people."

This was the attitude of the party in 1852 toward the questions of vital interest, and it had been the attitude of Franklin Pierce for years. It is undoubtedly true that in prominence before the country because of length or amount of public service he did not rank with several of the leading candidates for the nomination, but in the letter of notification of his nomination which the committee appointed by the convention subsequently presented him, the situation was frankly stated:

"You come before the people without the impulse of personal wishes, and free from selfish expectations. You are identified with none of the distractions which have recently disturbed our country, whilst you are known to be faithful to the Constitution—to all its guarantees and compromises. You will be free to exercise your tried abilities, within the path of duty in protecting that repose we happily enjoy, and in giving efficiency and control to those cardinal principles that have already illustrated the party which has selected you as its leader—principles that regard the security and prosperity of the whole country, and the paramount power of its laws, as indissolubly associated with the perpetuity of our civil and religious liberties. . . . It is firmly believed that to your talents and patriotism the security of our holy Union, with its expanded and expanding interests, may be wisely trusted, and that, amid all the perils which may assail the constitution, you will have the heart to love, and the arm to defend it."

To this letter Gen. Pierce made the following reply, a reply that in the light of subsequent events should be borne in mind in passing judgment on those events:

"I have the honor to acknowledge your personal kindness in presenting me, this day, your letter officially informing me of my nomination by the Democratic National Convention, as a candidate for the presidency of the United States. The surprise with which I received the intelligence of my nomination was not unmingled with painful solicitude; and yet it is proper for me to say that the manner in which it was conferred was peculiarly gratifying.

"The delegation from New Hampshire, with all the glow of state pride, and with all the warmth of personal regard, would not have sub-

mitted my name to the Convention, nor would they have cast a vote for me, under circumstances other than those which occurred.

"I shall always cherish with pride and gratitude the recollection of the fact, that the voice which first pronounced, and pronounced alone, came from the Mother of States,—a pride and gratitude rising above any consequences that can betide me personally. May I not regard it as a fact pointing to the overthrow of sectional jealousies, and looking to the permanent life and vigor of the Union, cemented by the blood of those who have passed to their reward?—a Union wonderful in its formation, boundless in its hopes, amazing in its destiny.

"I accept the nomination, relying upon an abiding devotion to the interests, honor, and glory of the whole country, but, above and beyond all, upon a Power superior to all human might—a Power, which, from the first gun of the revolution, in every crisis, through which we have passed, in every hour of acknowledged peril, when the dark clouds had shut down over us, has interposed as if to baffle human wisdom, outmarch human forecast, and bring out of darkness the rainbow of promise; weak myself, faith and hope repose there in security.

"I accept the nomination upon the platform adopted by the convention, not because this is expected of me as a candidate, but because the principles it embraces command the approbation of my judgment; and with them, I believe I can safely say, there has been no word or act of my life in conflict."

This letter of acceptance was recognized at once as frank, sincere and free from evasions and reservations, and it inspired the enthusiasm of a united party.

The Whigs as a party were embarrassed at the outset. The nomination of Daniel Webster, admittedly their greatest statesman, was out of the question. His speech in the Senate on the 7th of March in 1850 in favor of the Compromise measures, including the Fugitive Slave Act, had made him impossible to that wing of the party which regarded that act with abhorrence. On the other hand Southern Whigs would accept no candidate who was not in favor of these measures as a whole. Mr. Fillmore who had succeeded to the presidency on the death of Gen. Taylor had approved them and he had the Southern support. The North, however, looked at him askance on this very account. In 1848 Gen. Taylor as a colorless and non-committal candidate had carried off both nomination and election, and there was a strong movement in favor of Gen. Winfield Scott as another such candidate. No one knew what was his position on the subject of the compromises, and the advocates of his nomination were successful in their efforts to keep the Whig public in this state of

ignorance. The most strenuous efforts in his favor were from states where he could not well expect a single electoral vote, but these states had the delegates and he was finally on the 53d ballot nominated. Although his nomination met with a chilly reception in many parts of the North, and roused no enthusiasm anywhere, it was, perhaps, as strong as any which could have been made. Had a candidate been named who was identified with the Compromise measures, as were Mr. Webster and Mr. Fillmore he would have been slaughtered remorselessly by the "Conscience Whigs" of the North, and had an opponent of these measures been selected, he would have failed to secure an electoral vote in the South. Gen. Scott was esteemed as a gallant soldier, but he was not recognized as a statesman and his views were too little known to inspire any section of the country with confidence. On the other hand, though Gen. Pierce had been for several years in voluntary and self-chosen political retirement his views were known to be in accordance with the Democratic platform, a platform on which the party was substantially united. The Whig platform, however, was anything but non-committal on the chief issues of the day, states rights and the slavery question, though it maintained the traditional Whig attitude in favor of internal improvements. Three of the declaration of principles may be quoted:

"First, the government of the United States is of a limited character, and it is confined to the exercise of powers expressly granted by the Constitution, and such as may be necessary and proper for carrying the granted powers into full execution, and that powers not granted or necessarily implied are reserved to the States respectively and to the people.

"Second, the state governments should be held secure to their reserved rights and the general government sustained in its constitutional powers, and that the Union should be revered and watched over as the palladium of our liberties.

"Eighth, that the series of acts of the Thirty-second Congress, the act known as the Fugitive Slave Law included, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States as a settlement in principle and substance of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace; and, so far as they are concerned, we will maintain them, and insist upon their strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of laws on the one hand and the abuse of their powers on the other, not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the question thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance

all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, whenever, wherever, or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union."

Their last declaration was vigorously opposed in the convention, but was finally adopted. It is needless to say that the platform was distasteful to a large section of the party. On vital issues there was but little to chose between platforms. The measures advocated by one party and resisted by the other through a long series of years had ceased to become the pivots on which the election would turn. The question became largely one of the personality of candidates. The issue was tersely stated by Hawthorne in the closing paragraph of his campaign life of his college friend and classmate, Franklin Pierce:

"It remains for the citizens of this great country to decide, within the next few weeks, whether they will retrivel the steps of human progress by placing at its head an illustrious soldier, indeed, a patriot, and one indelibly stamped into the history of the past, but one who has already done his work, and has not in him the spirit of the present or of the coming time,—or whether they will put their trust in a new man, whom a life of energy and various activity has listed, but not worn out, and advance with him into the auspicious epoch upon which we are about to enter."

The result was evident from the beginning of the campaign. A few Whigs hoped, but it was hoping against hope. Thirty-one states participated in the election. The popular vote in thirty states—South Carolina choosing her electors by her legislature—was: Pierce, 1,601,274; Scott, 1,386,580; John P. Hale of New Hampshire, Free Soil, 155,825. Gen. Pierce received the electoral vote of 27 states, 254, and Gen. Scott 42 from the four states of Vermont, Massachusetts, Kentucky and Tennessee. On the score of electoral unanimity there had been nothing like it since the almost unanimous vote by which James Monroe was re-elected in 1820, a unanimity broken only by the vote of a single New Hampshire elector, William Plumer.

The election over, the question of cabinet selections came immediately to the front, and this question was an all important one. Gen. Pierce was the youngest man ever elected to the presidency up to that time. Buchanan, Marcy, Cass and the veterans of the party had been passed by, but they gave the

successful candidate cordial and hearty support. He was supposed to have come to his high office without trammels or pledges, and he doubtless believed this to be the case. He certainly had theories of his own in the matter of selecting his immediate official family, as is evident from a letter he addressed to James Buchanan, asking the advice of the latter, under date of December 7, 1852. He wrote:

"My thoughts for the last four weeks have been earnestly turned to the formation of a cabinet. And although I must in the end be responsible for the appointments, and consequently should follow my own well considered convictions, I cannot help saying often to myself how agreeable it would be to compare conclusions upon this or that point with Mr. Buchanan. I do not mean to trouble you with the many matters of difficulty that evidently lie in my path. So far as I have been able to form an opinion as to public sentiment and reasonable public expectation, I think I am expected to call around me gentlemen who have not hitherto occupied cabinet position, and in view of the jealousies and the embarrassments which environ any other course, this expectation is in accordance with my own judgment, a judgment strengthened by the impression that it is sanctioned by the views expressed by you. . . . You will confer a great favor by writing me as fully as you may deem proper as to the launching (if I may so express myself) of the incoming administration, and more especially in regard to men and things in Pennsylvania. In relation to appointments requiring prompt action after the inauguration, I shall as far as practicable leave Concord with purposes definitely formed, and not likely to be changed."

In his reply Mr. Buchanan expressed his gratification and belief that he had not been asked to accept a portfolio, and then proceeded to give the advice asked for freely and frankly. He wrote:

"I cannot assent to the correctness of the general principle you have adopted to proscribe in advance the members of former cabinets; nor do I concur with you in opinion that either public sentiment or public expectation requires such a sweeping ostracism. I need scarcely, therefore, say that the impression which you have derived of my opinion in favor of the measure from I know not whom, is without foundation. I should be most unjust towards my able, enlightened and patriotic associates in the cabinet of Mr. Polk, could I have entertained such an idea. So far from it that, were I the president-elect, I should deem it almost indispensable to avail myself of the sound wisdom and the experienced judgment of one or more members of that cabinet to assist me in conducting the vast and complicated machinery of the federal government. Neither should I be diverted from this purpose by the senseless cry of 'Old Fogeyism' raised by Young America.

"I think the members of Mr. Polk's cabinet should be placed upon the same level with the mass of their fellow citizens, and neither in a better nor a worse condition. I am not aware that any of them, unless it may be Governor Morey either expects or desires a cabinet appointment; and certainly all of them will most cheerfully accord to you the perfect right of selecting the members of your own cabinet. Still to be excluded from your consideration, merely because they had happened to belong to Mr. Polk's cabinet could not be very gratifying to any of them.

"To apply your own metaphor, 'the launching of the incoming administration,' will, perhaps be a more important and responsible duty than has ever fallen to the lot of any of your predecessors. On the selection of the navigators to assist you in conducting the vessel of state will mainly depend the success of the voyage. No matter how able and skillful the commander may be, and, without flattery, I cheerfully accord to you both ability and skill, he can do but little without the aid of able and skillful subordinates. So firmly am I convinced of this truth, that I should not fear to predict the result of your administration as soon as I shall learn who are the members of your cabinet. . . . You occupy a proud and independent position and enjoy a popularity which will render any able and honest Democrat popular who may be honored by your choice for a cabinet position, provided they are properly distributed over the Union. In this respect you are placed in a more enviable position than almost any of your predecessors. It was a maxim of old Simon Snyder, the shrewd and popular governor of our state, that the very best man ought to be selected for the office, and if not popular at the moment, he would soon render himself so. In view of these important considerations, I would earnestly recommend to you the practice of General Washington, never finally to decide an important question, until the moment which required its decision had nearly approached. I know that a state of suspense is annoying to the human mind, but it is better to submit to this annoyance for a season than to incur the risk of a more permanent and greater evil. You say you will leave Concord 'with purposes definitely formed and not likely to be changed.' But is Concord the best locality in the world for acquiring reliable information and taking extended views of our whole great country? To Boston, I should never resort for this purpose."

This advice of Mr. Buchanan was for the most part wise, and there was evidently need of caution against over precipitancy on the part of the president-elect in the choice of cabinet officers. At the very time he wrote Buchanan asking his advice he had already taken what he himself supposed to be decisive action relative to at least one member of his cabinet. Almost immediately after the result of the election was known he had invited Gen. John A. Dix of New York to visit him at Concord. Gen. Dix had been one of the leaders of the Free Soil Democracy of

New York, a supporter of Van Buren in 1848, and had been foremost in promoting a union of the rival factions of "Hards" and "Softs," "Hunkers" and "Barnburners" in support of the successful ticket of 1852. Visiting Concord, he was informed by the president that he had been selected for the position of secretary of state, and this information was coupled with the further statement that of all the men in the country there was none whom he more earnestly desired to have connected with his administration. When Gen. Dix left Concord for home it was with the clear and definite understanding that he was to be the premier of the new cabinet.

No sooner was this purpose relative to the appointment of Gen. Dix known, than there was developed the strongest and most bitter opposition. This opposition naturally came from the South and from the wing of the Northern Democracy with which Gen. Pierce had been identified. He was told that the appointment of Dix would handicap his administration from the very outset; that on the questions of the day, especially where the question of slavery was involved, the cabinet should be a unit; that the hearty support of administration measures by Southern Senators and Congressmen could not be expected if a prominent Free Soiler was to be at the presidents right hand. The result was that the purpose of appointing Gen. Dix was abandoned, the latter relieving the president-elect as much as possible from his embarrassment. The affair was unfortunate. Matters were not helped. The factional contest in New York was only made more bitter than ever, and pressure brought to bear on the president-elect by extremists both North and South was redoubled, when once the impression gained ground that pressure could be made effective. He was thenceforth given neither peace nor rest. When he went to Washington in February, so almost unendurable had become the attentions and importunities of the office-seekers, that, to escape them, he rode from Baltimore to Washington in a baggage car, half disguised, thus escaping the notice of the crowd and the recognition of even his personal friends when he arrived in Washington. On a plea of indisposition he saw only such of the party leaders as he summoned to meet him in the privacy of his hotel. It is true that the newspapers published a cabinet list a week before the inauguration, which subsequently proved to be the correct one,

but it is also true that the day after the inauguration it had not been definitely determined who should be secretary of state, and the portfolio had not then been tendered to Gov. Marcy. In fact, it was not till March 7, that the cabinet list was sent to the Senate.

The list showed that all attempts to secure recognition for the Free Soil element of the party had been abandoned, and that the cabinet had been selected to harmonize with the utterances of the inaugural address of three days before.

The tone of the inaugural was clear and unmistakable on such questions as might be regarded at issue. There was a brief reference in the opening sentences of the president's address to the deep personal sorrow which pressed heavily upon him caused by the tragic death of his only son, a few weeks before in a railroad accident, and then a declaration of the principles which would govern his administration. Regarding the civil service he said: "Good citizens may well claim the protection of good laws and the benign influence of good government, but a claim for office is what the people of a republic should never recognize. No reasonable man of any party will expect the Administration to be so regardless of its responsibility and of the obvious elements of success as to retain persons known to be under the influence of political hostility and partisan prejudice which will require not only some labor, but cordial co-operation. Having no implied engagements to ratify, no rewards to bestow, no resentments to remember, and no personal wishes to consult in selections for official station, I shall fulfill this difficult and delicate trust, admitting no motive as worthy either of my character or position, which does not contemplate an efficient discharge of duty and the best interests of my country. I acknowledge my obligations to the masses of my countrymen and to them alone." This was no reiteration of the dictum announced some years before by the man who was to become premier of the new administration, "to the victors belong the spoils of the enemy," but if any Whig official counted on the utterance as guaranteeing his continuance in office, he was doomed to disappointment.

On the question of state rights, the inaugural was in harmony with the views which Gen. Pierce had been known to hold for years, and to which he had given utterance in his letter

of acceptance. He said: "The great scheme of our constitutional liberty rests upon a proper distribution of power between the state and federal authorities, and experience has shown that the harmony and happiness of our people must depend upon a just discrimination between the separate rights and responsibilities of the states and of our common rights and obligations under the General Government; and here, in my opinion, are the considerations which should form the true basis of future concord in regard to questions which have most seriously disturbed public tranquility. If the Federal Government will confine itself to the exercise of powers clearly granted by the Constitution, it can hardly happen that its action upon any question should endanger the institutions of the states or interfere with their right to manage matters strictly domestic according to the will of their own people."

On the question of slavery he called attention to the fact that his sentiments were well known before his nomination and election:

"My own position upon this subject was clear and unequivocal, upon the record of my words and my acts, and it is only recurred to at this time because silence might perhaps be misconstrued. * * * The field of calm and free discussion in our country is open, and will always be so, but never has been and never can be traversed for good in a spirit of sectionalism and uncharitableness. The founders of the Republic dealt with things as they were presented to them, in a spirit of self-sacrificing patriotism, and as time has proved, with a comprehensive wisdom which it will always be safe for us to consult. Every measure tending to strengthen the fraternal feeling of all the members of our Union has had my heartfelt approbation. To every theory of society or government, whether the offspring of feverish ambition or of morbid enthusiasm, calculated to dissolve the bonds of law and affection which unite us, I shall interpose a steady and stern resistance. I believe that involuntary servitude, as it exists in different states of this Confederacy is recognized by the Constitution. I believe that it stands like any other admitted right, and that the states where it exists are entitled to efficient remedies to enforce the constitutional provisions. I hold that the laws of 1850, commonly called the compromise measures are strictly constitutional and to be unhesitatingly carried into effect. I believe that the constituted authorities of this Republic are bound to regard the rights of the South in this respect as they would view any other legal and constitutional right, and that the laws to enforce them should be respected and obeyed, not with a reluctance encouraged by abstract opinions as to their propriety in a different state of society, but cheerfully and according to the decisions of the tribunal to which their exposition

belongs. Such have been, and are, my convictions, and on them I shall act. I fervently hope that the question is at rest, and that no sectional or ambitious or fanatical excitement may again threaten the durability of our institutions, or obscure the light of our prosperity. * * * We have been carried in safety through a perilous crisis. Wise counsels like those which gave us the Constitution, prevailed to uphold it. Let the period be remembered as an admonition, and not as an encouragement, in any section of the Union, to make experiments where experiments are fraught with such fearful hazard. Let it be impressed upon all hearts that, beautiful as our fabric is, no earthly power or wisdom could ever reunite its broken fragments. Standing, as I do, almost within view of the green slopes of Monticello, and, as it were within reach of the tomb of Washington, with all the cherished memories of the past gathering around me like so many eloquent voices of exhortation from heaven, I can express no better hope for my country than that the kind Providence which smiled upon our fathers may enable their children to preserve the blessings they have inherited."

The cabinet list sent to the Senate three days after the inaugural was a notable one, and was in harmony with the spirit of that address, showing clearly and unmistakably the bias of the new administration for the South and its peculiar institution, which in spite of compromises had by no means ceased to be threatened. The list was: Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, of New York; Secretary of the Treasury, James Guthrie, of Kentucky; Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi; Secretary of the Navy, James C. Dobbin, of North Carolina; Secretary of the Interior, Robert McClelland, of Michigan; Postmaster-General, James Campbell, of Pennsylvania; Attorney-General, Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts. This cabinet was one which at first sight would seem to be satisfactory to the free state section of the country. Four members, Marcy, Campbell, McClelland and Cushing, were Northern men, while the Slave States had but three representatives. The war, navy and treasury portfolios, however, were in the hands of Southern men. McClelland and Campbell were inoffensive men in inoffensive positions.

Robert McClelland, who had been elected governor of Michigan in 1852 for a term of four years, and who resigned the office to accept the Interior portfolio, was regarded as the representative of Lewis Cass, at whose request he was appointed. He was a strong Cass partisan and had championed his cause in the National Conventions of 1848 and 1852. What his political future might have been had he remained true to the convictions

which made him one of the eighteen Democratic members of the National House, who joined with David Wilmot of Pennsylvania in passing the historic Wilmot Proviso, may only be conjectured, but all his Free Soil tendencies and inclinations had disappeared before he entered the cabinet of Pierce, and at the close of the administration he retired to private life, and thereafter dropped out of the public mind.

The appointment of James Campbell of Pennsylvania to the Post Office Department was strongly urged upon the president-elect by the Buchanan element of the party and as strongly opposed by prominent Pennsylvania Democrats. Campbell, though only forty years of age, had been on the bench for eight years, and at the time of his appointment was attorney-general of his state. Col. John W. Forney was sent to Concord to protest against Campbell's appointment. "When we got to Boston," writes Col. Forney, "I had a dispatch from the president-elect, telling me he would meet me in the railroad station in Concord; and at the station we found him on our arrival, handsome, bright, cordial and most receptive. His first greeting was: 'Well, I have appointed James Campbell, of Pennsylvania, Postmaster-General of the United States, so that part of your mission is disposed of. But in the next place you are to be retained as one of the editors of the *Washington Union*, which with your salary as Clerk of the House ought to be sufficient.' And that was all. Nothing was said afterwards, and when General Pierce's Administration was organized, I had no sincerer or more unselfish friend during his career of four years in the postal department than James Campbell of Pennsylvania." Twenty-one years later, Forney, then a thorough-going Republican, wrote of Campbell who had dropped entirely out of public life, as in appearance "cool and quiet as when everybody honored him for his honest administration of a difficult office."

The two leading Northern men in the Cabinet were, of course, Marcy and Cushing. It is not too much to say that Caleb Cushing was vastly more satisfactory to the South than to the North, especially to his own section of New England; and Marcy was likewise acceptable to the Southern leaders who had at least prevented the choice of General Dix. Alone, of the seven men selected, William L. Marcy, had previous cabinet service. He had not held public office during the four years

subsequent to his retirement from the Cabinet of Polk, but had stood among the foremost of the leaders of his party. When he accepted the state portfolio at the hands of Pierce he was in his sixty-seventh year. At the National Convention of 1852, he had been a candidate for the presidential nomination, and on the forty-eighth ballot as well as on the three preceding ones, the leading candidate, the vote standing, Marcy 90, Cass 73, Pierce 55, Douglas 33, Buchanan 28. Marcy was strongly urged for the Cabinet by the element which had been successful in eliminating Dix, and there is reason to believe that the state portfolio was tendered him only as a result of pressure. The president had reasons for not wishing Marcy in his cabinet. He knew his ability and his national reputation, and no man likes to be overshadowed by his official subordinates. In his letter of acceptance, Gen. Pierce had made no professions of belief in the desirability of a single term, and there were doubtless already visions of a renomination and re-election. Marcy had also presidential aspirations. His vote in the Convention of 1852 had placed him on a level with Buchanan and Douglas as an aspirant. Douglas could afford to wait, but with Buchanan and himself, it was 1856 or never. Cass, by reason of his age, was already out of the question. It must have occurred to Pierce and his friends that Marcy might make the state department a stepping stone to the White House, and the same thought must have been entertained by Marcy and his friends. The appointment was a political mistake. His appointment as Secretary of War under Polk had much to do with the loss of New York to his party in 1846 and 1848, and his appointment by Pierce opened up the old breach between the party factions in New York, and was not the least of the factors which threw New York out of the Democratic column of states before the close of the Pierce Administration. If Marcy hoped to promote the realization of his presidential aspirations by the acceptance of the state portfolio he met with disappointment. It was made evident at the very start that the administration was to be conducted in the interest of a second term for Pierce. Marcy had been urged upon the president by the Southern leaders, but he was hardly satisfactory to them. A man of iron will, of incorruptible integrity, of plain unceremonial manners, yet who in his person bore the unmistakeable stamp of great intellectual force, he was the one restraining

influence in an administration which, from a purely political standpoint, went wrong almost from the very outset. He found the affairs of his department in a most confused condition. Mr. Webster had been grossly careless, and Mr. Everett had not time to bring order out of chaos. The new Secretary had no experience whatever in foreign affairs, but he soon mastered the routine of foreign relations, and his state papers entitle him to a high and honorable rank among American Secretaries of State. What is known as the Koszter case was one of the creditable features of the Pierce Administration, and credit in this case largely belongs to Marcy. One Martin Koszter, an escaped Hungarian, who had taken part in the unsuccessful revolution of 1848, had come to the United States, and taken the first steps towards naturalization by declaring his intention to become a citizen. Two years later he went to Smyrna on business and was arrested and confined in an Austrian brig of war to be carried away, when his release was demanded by the United States Consul, on the ground that he had taken the preliminary steps to become an American citizen. This demand was enforced by Capt. Ingraham of the American sloop of war St. Louis, who brought his guns to bear upon the Austrian brig. It was finally arranged that Koszter should be placed in charge of the French Consul until the claim of American protection be settled. The Austrian government addressed to the various European courts a note of protest against the action of Captain Ingraham, and called upon the United States to interpose no obstacle to the extradition of Koszter to Austria, "to disavow the conduct of its agents," and "to call them to a severe account and to tender to Austria a satisfaction proportionate to the magnitude of the outrage." This was Secretary Marcy's opportunity and he so used it that during the summer and autumn of 1853, there is little doubt he was the most popular man in the United States.

Marcy took the broad ground that Koszter, by establishing his domicile in the United States, became clothed with the national character, a character he retained when he was seized at Smyrna, thus giving him the right to claim protection from the United States, and making it the duty of the United States to grant him such protection. The satisfaction asked for by Austria was denied. "Whenever," wrote Marcy, "by the operation of the law of nations, an individual becomes clothed with our

national character, be he a native born or naturalized citizen, an exile driven from his early home by political oppression, or an emigrant enticed from it by the hopes of a better fortune for himself and his posterity, he can claim the protection of this government, and it may respond to that claim without being obliged to explain its conduct to any foreign power, for it is its duty to make its nationality respected by other nations, and respectable in every quarter of the globe." This utterance naturally thrilled every American heart, but it was something more than appeal to passion. The point made was one which has since been sustained by the most eminent authorities on international law, and the principle he laid down has been followed by his successors in the state department. Koszter was allowed to return to the United States.

At this time the opposition press and leaders were not slow to charge that the Administration, through its Secretary, would hardly have ventured to assume so peremptory an attitude towards Great Britain, but Secretary Marcy showed that when dealing with foreign powers he was no respecter of persons or nations. In 1854 he conducted with Lord Elgin at Washington successful negotiations relative to fisheries and reciprocal trade with Canada, but in 1856 he showed that so far as Great Britain and France were concerned, the United States would deal with them no differently than with Austria. For some time there had been under the direction of the British diplomatic and consular representatives a recruiting of men in the United States for regiments engaged in the Crimean war. Mr. Crampton, the British minister, paid no attention to protests made and treated the laws of the United States relative to such enlistments as if they were of no consequence. In May, 1856, Secretary Marcy sent a brief statement of the facts in the case to the British government, and closed his dispatch with a peremptory demand for the recall of Mr. Crampton and of the British Consuls at New York, Philadelphia and Cincinnati. The French Minister de Santiges undertook the task of mediation between Mr. Crampton and Mr. Marcy. Calling at the Department of State he represented that the continuance of peaceful relations between England and the United States was the earnest wish of the French Emperor, who held the Union in highest friendship and esteem. Mr. Marcy was delighted at this assurance but intimated that it did not corre-

spond with other information which had been given him. Minister de Santiges emphatically denied the truth of any report adverse to the statement he had just made. Secretary Marcy excused his absence for a moment, but returned almost immediately holding in his hand an original dispatch addressed to Secretary of War Davis, from which to the astonishment of the French Minister he read extracts. The document was the report of an army commission sent out by the United States in the interest of science, to whom Emperor Napoleon's war minister not only refused certain courtesies solicited by members of the commission, but also expressed the hope that when they met again, it might be at the cannon's mouth. The French minister took a hurried leave and did not propose further mediation. Mr. Crampton went home and his place was not filled during the remainder of the Pierce Administration.

James Guthrie of Kentucky at the time of his appointment to the Treasury Department was not prominent in politics, but was known as a business man of marked ability. He was president of the Louisville and Portland Canal Co. and of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad. He made an admirable secretary, bringing to the performance of the duties of his office a genius for finance, and his record was a most honorable one.

One of the notable figures of the new Cabinet from the very beginning was the Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. Like Dix he had served with Pierce in the war with Mexico, and like Dix he early received the offer of a cabinet portfolio. If Dix was objectionable to the South, so was Davis to the North. If Dix was opposed by the Hunkers of New York so was Davis by the Union men of Mississippi. Dix accepted the offer of the State portfolio, while Davis declined that of War. The treatment of the two men was vastly differnt. Pierce let Dix know that he wished to be relieved from the tender which had been made and accepted; but he sent for Davis to come to Washington, and was so earnest in his solicitations, that Davis came the day after inauguration and was prevailed upon to accept the appointment the president was so anxious to make.

The career of Davis had been a brilliant one. He was graduated at West Point in 1828, at the age of twenty, and served as second and first lieutenant until 1835, when he resigned and engaged in cotton planting till 1845, when he entered Congress,

but resigned in 1846 to take command of the first regiment of Mississippi Riflemen in the war with Mexico. He served with brilliancy, declining a commission as brigadier general, until July, 1847, when he resigned to enter the United States Senate, having been appointed to a seat in that body in May of that year. Subsequently elected to the seat he served till November, 1851, when he resigned to make the canvass of his state as the secession candidate for governor. Again elected to the Senate, he entered the Cabinet of President Pierce, instead of taking his seat, though his Mississippi friends managed to have a senatorial seat ready for him when he stepped out of the War Department March 4, 1857. This he kept till January 21, 1861, when he withdrew to enter upon his career as the official head of the slaveholders' confederacy.

When he entered the cabinet at the age of forty-five, he was more than any other public man the recognized successor of John C. Calhoun, and was gradually reaching the position to which he aspired, that of champion par excellence of the extreme states rights principle. Accepting the war portfolio, he did not spend his time in theorizing or dreaming. Never was war secretary more active in time of peace. Material changes were made in the models of arms. Iron gun carriages were introduced, and experiments were made which led to the casting of heavy guns hollow instead of boring them after casting. Inquiries were made as to gunpowder which led to the use of a coarser grain for artillery. The army was strengthened by the addition of two regiments of infantry and two of cavalry. A commission was sent to Crimea to study the latest improvements in the art of war. The army regulations were revised. Southern forts and arsenals were carefully cared for. The fact that the act approved August 18, 1856, appropriated only \$190,000 for the whole line of Northern Atlantic fortifications and \$928,000 for those of the Southern Atlantic and the Gulf could but cause comment. When the storm of rebellion broke upon the country, there were many who called to mind that but four years previously Jefferson Davis of Mississippi had been Secretary of War.

Just what special qualifications James C. Dobbin of North Carolina possessed for the Secretaryship of the Navy, aside from the fact that he had been active in promoting the nomination of Gen. Pierce at Baltimore does not appear. Admitted to the bar

in 1835, at the age of twenty-one, he enjoyed lucrative practice, served a term in Congress from 1845 to 1847, had been four times a member of the House of Commons of his state, and in 1850 had been speaker. During the Pierce Administration there was little or nothing outside the routine work of the Navy Department for a secretary to do, and Secretary Dobbin did this to the satisfaction of everybody. He was attractive in his manners, forming many warm personal friendships, but was content to follow the leaders in matters of public policy.

In many respects the most remarkable man in the Pierce Cabinet, if not indeed the dominating figure in the administration, was Caleb Cushing, the attorney-general. Born in Salisbury, Massachusetts, January 7, 1800, he died in Newburyport, January 2, 1879. Graduating at Harvard in 1817, he was tutor of mathematics there in 1819-21. Studied law and was admitted to practice in 1823. He was a member of the Massachusetts House in 1825, of the Senate in 1827, visited Europe in 1829, and was again a member of the House in 1833 and 1834. He was elected to Congress as a Whig and served from 1835 to 1843, when he was commissioner to China from May in 1843 to March, 1845. He raised a regiment of Massachusetts volunteers for the war with Mexico, was commissioned its colonel in January, 1847, and brigadier-general by President Polk three months later. He served till July 20, 1848. He was defeated as Democratic candidate for governor of Massachusetts in 1847 and again in 1848; declined the office of attorney-general of his state in 1851; was appointed by Governor Boutwell a justice of the Supreme Court in 1852, and resigned to enter the Pierce Cabinet as attorney-general in 1853. He presided over the National Democratic Convention at Charleston and Baltimore in 1860, allied himself with the states rights Democracy and supported Breckinridge for the presidency; was appointed by President Johnson a commissioner to codify and revise the statutes of the United States, 1866-70; by President Grant senior counsel for the United States before the Geneva tribunal of arbitration on the Alabama claims; was nominated in 1874 by President Grant as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, but his nomination was withdrawn when it became certain that it would be rejected; became Minister to Spain, serving from January, 1874, to January, 1877.

This in barest skeleton is a sketch of a remarkable career.

He held high public office to which he was appointed by John Tyler, James K. Polk, Franklin Pierce, Andrew Johnson and Ulysses S. Grant. It was a unique record, and Caleb Cushing was a unique character: scholar, author, lawyer, diplomat, general, judge, achieving distinction in each field, excepting perhaps in the military. He was for a long time one of the ablest Whig leaders. When Tyler apostatized Cushing apostatized with him. He became a Democrat. He helped bring about the nomination of Pierce, and hoped to enter the Cabinet as Secretary of State, but so strong was the opposition to him that the president declined to appoint him. Later as is evident from the appointments given him by President Grant, his alliances were more with the Republicans than with the Democrats, but it may be doubted if he ever had sincere well-grounded political convictions of any kind. Lowell in his *Biglow Papers* expressed the general opinion of him in the following satirical lines:

“Gineral C. is a drefle smart man:
He's been on all sides that give places or pelf,—
But consistency still wuz a part of his plan,—
He's been true to *one* party,— an' that is himself.”

Thomas H. Benton was more severe. In a speech delivered in 1856, speaking of the members of the Cabinet he said: “Of all these the attorney-general is the master spirit. He is a man of talent, of learning, of industry—unscrupulous, double-sexed, double-gendered and hermaphroditic in politics, with a hinge on his knee which he often crooks that ‘thrift may follow fawning,’ he governed by subserviency; and to him is deferred the master’s place in Mr. Pierce’s Cabinet. When I heard that he was to be a member, I put down Mr. Pierce for a doomed man, and fore-saw the swift and full destruction which was to fall on him.” Cushing was distrusted. He had the fatal lack of moral sense. It was not merely his political inconsistency which lost him the confidence of his fellow-men. Other men have changed their political affiliations, retaining meanwhile their reputation for sincerity. The general feeling on the part of his contemporaries was that it was not so much principle as personal interest which accounted for his political unsteadiness. The president held to the view that Cushing’s fickleness was intellectual rather than moral, that he mostly needed a man of stable judgment to keep

him straight and President Pierce believed himself that man. Never was he more seriously mistaken.

The guiding spirits of the Pierce Administration were Caleb Cushing and Jefferson Davis. The administration began with the slavery issue supposedly settled by the Compromise measures of 1850, and the president announced that he would vigorously oppose any reopening of the question. He did not appreciate the "irrepressible conflict," nor did he foresee the impossibility of the Republic permanently existing "half slave and half free." Compromises are never final settlements. The question was bound to be reopened, but the reopening came to the country with startling shock. The harmony which prevailed during nearly all the first year of the administration was only the lull presaging the storm.

On the 4th of January, 1854, the country was electrified by the report in the Senate from the Committee on Territories, through its chairman, Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of the famous Kansas-Nebraska bill. Three weeks later he also reported from the same committee an amended substitute bill, one provision of which was that the Missouri Compromise Act of 1820 was in distinct and explicit terms pronounced void, and slavery and freedom were given an equal chance for propagation in the territories of the United States. What had been regarded as a settlement was found to have been only a brief truce, which was now suddenly broken and the conflict was on again only to be terminated when Lee laid down his sword at Appomattox eleven years later.

With the news of the report of this bill came also the intimation that the administration was pledged to support the bill and bound to see it through, an intimation which proved to be well based, and on May 30 it became a law by the signature of the president. It was during the pendency of this bill that the dominating influence of Cushing and Davis became specially manifest. Marcy and McClelland hesitated. Pierce himself vacillated, but whenever he showed himself influenced by an outraged Northern sentiment, and showed signs of retracting the promise of support which he had given Douglas, after an interview with Davis, on January 22, he was held to this promise. All other measures of the Pierce Administration were overshadowed by this. Questions of tariff and revenue, the acquisi-

tion of Cuba which had become an issue, projected public improvements became secondary to those growing out of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The satisfactory settlement of diplomatic questions accomplished by the industry and ability of Marcy seemed to be lost sight of. Before the administration closed, a new political party had come into existence, and new issues or old issues in new forms were at the front. Perhaps no administration ever began with fairer promise. Few ever more completely failed and failed in spite of splendid accomplishment.

A controversy with Great Britain respecting the fisheries was harmoniously adjusted; the rights of American citizens, and of those who had declared their intention to become citizens was vindicated; the boundary dispute with Mexico was settled by negotiation resulting in the acquisition of what is now a part of the State of Arizona; a treaty was negotiated providing for commercial reciprocity for a period of ten years between the United States and the Canadian provinces; a treaty was negotiated by Commodore Matthew Galbraith Perry with Japan which opened up that previously almost unknown country to the commerce of the world; proposed routes for a railroad to the Pacific were explored under the supervision and direction of the War Department; the diplomatic and consular systems of the United States were revised and improved; a court of claims was organized and a retired list was provided for the navy.

A strict constructionist of the Constitution, the vetoes of the president were in harmony with such constitutional interpretation. The principal vetoes were those of bills making appropriations for public works; a grant of 10,000,000 acres of public property to the states for the relief of indigent insane; provision for the payment of the French spoliation claims; and also a bill increasing the appropriation for the Collins line of steamers.

An attempt to acquire Cuba proved abortive. Affairs in Cuba were in a bad way and filibustering expeditions from the United States to the island in 1850 and 1851 during the Fillmore Administration led to questions on the part of the European powers as to the attitude of the United States towards such expeditions. In 1852 Great Britain and France proposed to the

United States a tripartite treaty by which all these powers should disavow all intention of acquiring Cuba, and discountenance any such attempt by any power. In December, 1852, Secretary of State Edward Everett declined the proposal, declaring, at the same time, however, that the United States would never question the title of Spain to the island. Conditions in Cuba, steadily growing worse, in August, 1854, President Pierce directed James Buchanan, John Y. Mason and Pierre Soule, the American Ministers respectively to Great Britain, France and Spain, to meet and discuss the situation. They met first at Ostend in October and later at Aix la Chapelle and agreed on a dispatch, which they sent their government, which became known as the "Ostend Manifesto." It was to the effect, to state it briefly, that if Spain refused to sell Cuba, self-preservation on the part of the United States would compel her to wrest it from Spain, to prevent it from becoming Africanized into a second Santo Domingo. The great European powers at once manifested their hostility to the proposal, and the overshadowing excitement caused by the Kansas-Nebraska Act, shelved it not only for the time being but permanently.

Indeed, the Kansas-Nebraska Act overshadowed everything and became the one supreme issue. The so-called Missouri Compromise of 1820 had forever excluded slavery north of the parallel, $36^{\circ} 30'$. The repeal of this by the Kansas-Nebraska Act opened up this territory to slavery, by leaving it to the people in the territories north of that line to decide the question for themselves. The act was Senator Douglas' bid for the presidency; but Pierce was hampered by no single term pledge and it was generally understood that he would be a candidate for renomination and re-election. Douglas, without doubt, believed that the president would hold to the promise of his inaugural and his first annual message relative to disturbing the country's repose from a discussion of the slavery question which had followed the compromise of 1850. Pierce had said in his annual message of December, 1853: "that this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have power to prevent it, those who placed me here may be assured." Senator Douglas counted on this, but reckoned without his host. The act became a law. The plans and hopes of Douglas were disappointed. The administration of Pierce was involved in what was virtually civil

war in Kansas, and was repudiated throughout the North. The anti-Kansas-Nebraska Democrats went into the new political party which grew out of the contest. In 1854 with a Democratic majority in both houses of the New Hampshire legislature, the influence of the National administration was powerless to secure the election of a Democratic United States Senator, and in 1855 the Democrats lost control of the state.

The elections in 1854 and 1855 throughout the North indicated the constantly growing dissatisfaction with the administration. If Douglas hoped to win the presidency by his Kansas-Nebraska Act, he was doomed to disappointment. So far as the renomination of Pierce was concerned, it would have made little difference whether he signed or vetoed the Act. In either case renomination and re-election would have been impossible. He has been charged with inconsistency in approving the Act after his pledge in his message to Congress in 1853, but the charge does not hold good.

Franklin Pierce regarded the Constitution of the United States as a sacred document on the explicit observance of which the integrity of free institutions depended. Above all things else he was devotedly loyal to the Union of the States. The Constitution, strictly construed, and the Union had been and still were the guiding stars of his public and political life. There was more than a hint in the Compromise measures of 1850, that the Missouri Act of 1820 was unconstitutional, and when Pierce was once convinced by the presentation of the case by his attorney-general Caleb Cushing, that the hint of 1850 was based on actual fact, and was further convinced by his Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, that a veto of the Act would mean secession and disunion, there was but one course open to him: he signed the act, and at the same time signed the warrant for his defeat for renomination and re-election.

The Democratic National Convention to nominate a candidate for president met in Cincinnati June 2, 1856. James Buchanan had been out of the country as Minister to Great Britain, and fortunately for himself was without record on the burning Kansas-Nebraska question. On the first ballot for a presidential candidate he received 135 votes, Pierce 122, Douglas 33 and Cass 6. Of the Pierce vote 72 were from the Southern States and 50 from the Northern. The hopelessness of electing

Pierce even were he nominated was evident from the start. The vote for Pierce gradually diminished and on the seventeenth ballot Buchanan was unanimously nominated.

At the conclusion of his term of office Gen. Pierce returned to his New Hampshire home and after a three-years' visit abroad he again returned to Concord, where he lived in dignified and honorable retirement, beloved by his personal friends, until his death, October 8, 1869.

His administration was a pivotal one. It marked the beginning of the end of American slavery. His personal integrity and fidelity to conviction were never questioned. His administration stood for economy and frugality in public affairs, and officials were held to a strict accountability to their constituents. He was a true patriot, and devoted lover of his country. But for slavery and the questions growing out of it, his administration would have passed into history as one of the most successful in our national life, yet his attitude toward that institution was at all times based on well-grounded conviction and was thoroughly consistent, without trace or suspicion of demagogery. Maligned, calumniated for such consistency, he is finally beginning to be appreciated at his real worth, and his statue in bronze, placed in 1914 in the park fronting the State House is the partial answer of his state to his calumniators and vilifiers, and a fitting tribute by his state, in its capacity as such, to one of her most distinguished sons, and to her only representative in the honored and exalted line of Presidents of the United States.

Chapter XVII

SONS OF NEW HAMPSHIRE IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE

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Charles G. Atherton—Henry W. Blair—Henry Burnham—Lewis Cass—John Chandler—William E. Chandler—Zachariah Chandler—Daniel Clark—Dudley Chase—Charles Cutts—John A. Dix—William P. Fessenden—George G. Fogg—Jacob H. Gallinger—James W. Grimes—Henry F. Hollis—Benning W. Jenness—Gilman Marston—Moses Norris—Nahum Parker—James W. Patterson—Austin F. Pike—Edward H. Rollins—James Sheafe—Thomas W. Thompson—Bainbridge Wadleigh—John S. Wells—Henry Wilson—Leonard Wilcox—Paine Wingate.

SOME of the distinguished sons of the Granite State have filled so many positions of honor that it is difficult to classify them. Therefore in other chapters sketches may be found of some senators who represented this and other states at the national capital.¹ In this chapter are grouped alphabetically the remaining senators who were born in New Hampshire, or represented this state.

Charles Gordon Atherton was born in Amherst, July 4, 1804, grandson of Hon. Joshua Atherton. He was graduated at Harvard College in 1822 and after studying law in the office of his brother was admitted to the bar in 1825 and began practice in Dunbarton, now Nashua. He represented Dunbarton in the lower branch of the legislature in 1831 and 1833-36, the last three years being Speaker of the House. He had served in 1831-2 as clerk of the Senate. He was elected as a Democrat to the 25th, 26th and 27th congresses, 1837-43, and took an active part in debates, always as friendly to southern policy. In 1838 he introduced the resolution which remained in force till 1845, declaring that all bills and petitions, of whatever kind, on the subject of slavery should be tabled without debate and should not be taken again from

¹ The senators from New Hampshire not included in this chapter were Joseph C. Abbott, Josiah Bartlett, Charles Henry Bell, James Bell, Samuel Bell, Salmon P. Chase, Nicholas Gilman, Isaac Hill, John Langdon, Woodbury Langdon, Samuel Livermore, Jeremiah Mason, David Lawrence Morrill, Simeon Olcott, John Page, Franklin Pierce, William Plumer, Daniel Webster, and Levi Woodbury.

the table. This was called "the Atherton gag," and he was known as "Gag Atherton." Nevertheless his Democratic partisans stood by him, and he was elected to the United States Senate in 1843 and re-elected in 1852, serving as chairman of the finance committee. He took a prominent part in the Constitutional Convention of 1850. While attending court at Manchester he suffered a stroke of paralysis and died November 15, 1853. His abilities were not underrated by his political opponents. He was well versed in history and classical literature, cool, ready, logical and forceful in his addresses, sometimes impassioned as an orator and intensely partisan in politics. He was more devoted to the letter of the national Constitution than to the rights of humanity. He was naturally a leader but sometimes led the wrong way. His place was in the front rank of lawyers and politicians, not to say statesmen.

Henry William Blair was born in Compton, December 6, 1834. His father died and left the family in poor circumstances. Young Blair worked on a farm till the age of seventeen and then canvassed, taught school, went to an academy and studied till impaired health forced him to abandon his cherished plan of a collegiate education. He studied law at Plymouth and began practice there in 1859. Soon the Civil War broke out and he enlisted as a private but was commissioned captain before leaving the State. He took part in the Louisiana expedition and was promoted to major and lieutenant-colonel. In the battle of Port Hudson he was wounded in the right arm, sent to a hospital, but after two or three days returned with his arm in a sling to lead his regiment again into battle. Another bullet struck the same arm, tearing open the former wound. He returned with his regiment and such was his physical condition that his life hung in the balance for some time. After recovery he resumed the practice of law at Plymouth and represented that town both in the House and Senate of his State. He was elected as a Republican to the 44th and 45th congresses, 1875-79. He took his seat in the United States Senate June 20, 1879, and served till March 3, 1885. Subsequently he was re-elected and served till March 3, 1891. He was known throughout the nation as a champion of reforms. A proposition to amend the national Constitution so as to prohibit the manufacture and sale of distilled liquors after 1890 was introduced by him. He also advo-



Lew Cap

cated the right of women to the ballot. A hundred thousand copies of his speech on Free Schools were distributed, and three times the Senate approved his proposal to devote \$37,000,000 to the abolition of illiteracy, but the bill was defeated in the house. The Greenback craze met in him a study opponent. In 1891 he was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to China, but resigned on account of objections made by the Chinese government. Again he was elected to congress, the 33rd, 1893-95, and after his term expired engaged in the practice of law in Washington, D. C. His books on "The Temperance Movement, or the Conflict of Men with Alcohol" and "The Future of the Temperance Reform" were widely read. He must be numbered among the practical reformers in the ranks of statesmen.

Henry Eben Burnham was born in Dunbarton, November 8, 1844. He prepared for college at Kimball Union Academy and was graduated with high honors at Dartmouth in 1865. He studied law in Concord and Manchester and began its practice in the latter city. The fact that he was judge of probate in Hillsborough county from 1876 to 1879 gave him his popular name, Judge Burnham. He was a member of the lower house of the state legislature in 1873, 1874 and again in 1900. He served also for a time as treasurer of Hillsborough county. As a member of the constitutional convention of 1889 he took an active part. Another office he held was that of ballot-law commissioner. He was elected as a Republican to the United States Senate for the term beginning March 4, 1901, and was re-elected in 1906, serving till 1913. He was chairman of the committee on Cuban relations. His integrity and ability have been recognized in the varied offices he has held.

Lewis Cass was born in Exeter, October 9, 1782, son of Jonathan Cass, a revolutionary soldier. He was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy. His father became a major in the army and in 1800 removed to Marietta, Ohio. A year later the family settled in Zanesville, Ohio, Lewis remaining at Marietta to study law. He was the first one admitted to the bar after Ohio became a State, practicing at Zanesville. He took a prominent part in defeating the plans of Aaron Burr, when the latter sought to establish a nation of his own in the West. President Jefferson appointed him United States marshal of Ohio, which

office he filled from 1807 to 1813. In the War of 1812 he served first as colonel and later as brigadier-general. For many years he served as governor of Michigan and superintendent of Indian affairs, when the Indians were many and troublesome in that region. He was called by them "the Great Father of Detroit." He traveled in a canoe five thousand miles in exploring the upper Mississippi. President Jackson gave him a place in his cabinet as Secretary of War, in 1831, and he directed affairs in the Black Hawk War. He was appointed minister to Paris and resigned that post in 1842. On his return he was given a reception in Faneuil Hall, Boston. In 1845 he was elected United States senator from Michigan. As candidate for the presidency in 1848 he was defeated, remaining in the senate. President Buchanan made him Secretary of State, but he could not agree with the president and so resigned his office. He died at Detroit, June 17, 1866. Few men have reflected more honor upon the State of their birth. Lewis Cass was a man of brains and energy, worthy of trust and fitted to fill very responsible and critical positions. He was a leader and commander of men.

William Eaton Chandler was born in Concord, December 25, 1835. He was educated in the public schools and the academies at Thetford, Vermont, and Pembroke, N. H. He was graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1854 and soon began the practice of law at Concord. In 1859 he was appointed reporter of the decisions of the supreme court of New Hampshire, and he edited five volumes of reports. He was secretary of the Republican state committee in 1858 and later was its chairman. From 1862 to 1864 he was a member of the state house of representatives and served as speaker during the last two years. In 1864 he was employed by the navy department as special counsel to prosecute the Philadelphia navy yard frauds and the following year President Lincoln appointed him solicitor and judge advocate general of the navy department. He became first assistant secretary of the treasury, June 17, 1865, and resigned that office November 30, 1867. In the state constitutional convention of 1876 he took a prominent part. He was delegate at large from New Hampshire to the Republican national convention of 1868 and secretary of the national committee, conducting the political campaigns of 1868 and 1872. Meanwhile he was interested financially and otherwise in the *New Hampshire Statesman* and the *Monitor*. Again he



WILLIAM E. CHANDLER

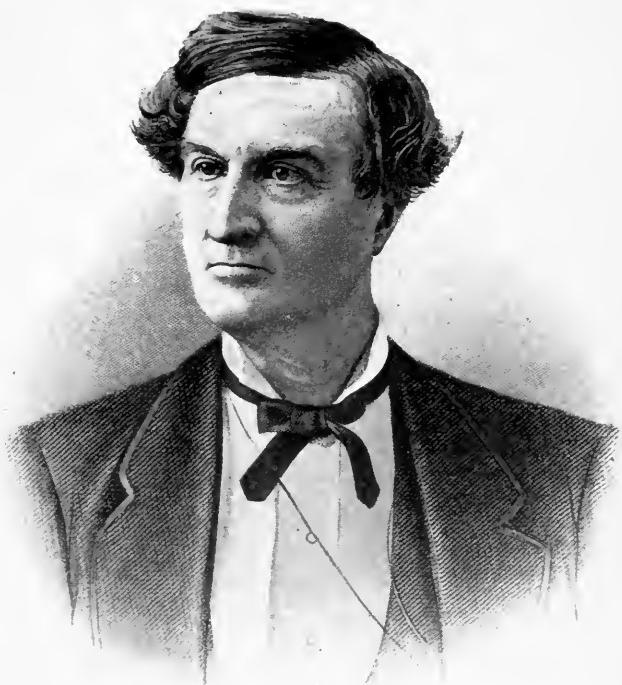
was a member of the state house of representatives in 1881. He was counsel for the Hayes electors before the canvassing board of Florida and before the electoral commission chosen to arbitrate and decide upon the vote for President of the United States. In the Chicago convention of 1880 Mr. Chandler was a delegate in favor of the nomination of James G. Blaine. He was himself nominated by President Garfield, March 23, 1881, as solicitor general in the department of justice and was rejected by five votes. In the state legislature he strongly opposed the misuse of free railroad passes and was in favor of regulation by law of railroad fares and freight charges. President Arthur appointed him, April 12, 1882, secretary of the navy and he served till March 7, 1885. He was elected as a Republican to the United States senate to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Austin F. Pike and served from June 14, 1887 to March 3, 1889. He was re-elected June 18, 1889 and again January 16, 1895, serving until March 3, 1901. President McKinley appointed him, in 1901, president of the Spanish Claims Commission. He resigned in 1908 and resumed the practice of law in Concord, N. H. and Washington, D. C.

Perhaps no native of New Hampshire has held so great a variety of public offices, extending through nearly half a century. In the varied positions of trust and responsibility he has shown a wonderful grasp of details and essentials and displayed unusual genius for organization, especially in the wise selection of subordinate agents. He has been fearless in the expression of criticism wherever he thought it was needed and has not courted the political favor of any. He has been loyal to his convictions, to his friends and to his country. His whole political and private life has been free from suspicion. He is a man of genial, social nature, who likes good books, pleasant scenery and converse with friends. It has been his habit for many years to entertain at his summer home, at Waterloo, and there to enjoy ease with dignity. To his social good nature may be attributed much of his success in life.

John Chandler was of the fifth generation from William Chandler, who settled in Roxbury, Mass., in 1637. He was born in Epping, February 1, 1762, son of Capt. Joseph and Lydia (Eastman) Chandler. His father was a blacksmith, and John was taught the same trade. At the age of fifteen he enlisted and was present at the

surrender of Gen. Burgoyne. Later he walked to Newburyport and shipped as a privateer on the "Arnold," which was captured. After enduring for a while the tortures of a prison ship he and some others managed to escape and land near Savannah, Ga. Thence he walked home to Epping and the following June, 1780, he enlisted again in the Revolutionary army for six months. On attaining his majority he started out to make his fortune, rode to New Gloucester, Maine, and thence walked to Readfield, guided by spotted trees. He soon found a farm in Monmouth, the adjoining town, and bought a hundred acres for four hundred dollars. Then he married Mary Whittier of Nottingham, and together they carried on a farm and kept a tavern. General Washington made him postmaster in 1794 and he held that office twenty-four years. He represented Monmouth in the general court of Massachusetts in 1799 and 1802 and was a member of the senate in 1803, 1804 and 1819. He was chief justice of the court of sessions in 1807-8 and sheriff of Kennebec county in 1809. He became major-general of Maine's militia and in the War of 1812 served as brigadier-general, being wounded and captured at the battle of Stony Creek, Canada, after having a horse shot under him. He urged the separation of Maine from Massachusetts and was elected as one of Maine's first senators, the other being John Holmes. He was one of the committee of thirty-three to prepare the Constitution of Maine. Governor King appointed him one of the trustees of Bowdoin College. In 1827 he was made collector of the port of Portland. Removing thence to Augusta, he died there September 26, 1841. He was a member of the Masonic order and of the Unitarian church. (See article in the Granite Monthly, VII. 5-12.)

Zachariah Chandler, son of Samuel and Margaret (Orr) Chandler and descended from William Chandler of Roxbury, was born in Bedford, December 10, 1813. His youth was spent in doing farm work and picking up what education the public schools then gave. He taught a term or two, but his mind inclined to business rather than to book-lore. When he became of age he was offered his choice, to receive a thousand dollars or a college education. He chose the former and went to Detroit, opened a small store, and slept on the counter. In twenty years he became the leading merchant of Detroit and was a man of wealth. He was mayor of the city at the age of thirty-eight and



ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

the next year he was Whig candidate for governor of the State. Always in favor of human freedom he helped fugitive slaves by the "underground railroad" to Canada, and he contributed ten thousand dollars to help settle free-soilers in Kansas. In 1857 he was elected United States senator, and was re-elected three times. He was reckoned among the radicals in his opposition to slavery and secession. When it was proposed to put Jefferson Davis on the pension list of the War of 1812, Senator Chandler's brief speech crushed the proposal as though a trip hammer had fallen upon it. He remembered well the former talk and schemes of Davis, when they were associated in the senate before the Civil War. During that conflict Chandler bent all his strength toward organizing troops in Michigan. President Grant took him into his cabinet as Secretary of the Interior. He died in Washington, November 1, 1879, while he was a member of the Senate. A daughter of his married Senator Eugene Hale of Maine. Business ability, integrity, and education in the school of life pushed him to the front.

Daniel Clark was chosen to fill out the term of Senator James Bell. He was born at Stratham, October 24, 1809. He was educated at Hampton Academy and Dartmouth College, where he graduated in 1834 at the head of his class. He began the practice of law at Epping in 1837 and removed to Manchester ten years later. Five times he was sent to the legislature as representative. In the anti-slavery crusade of 1854-5 he stumped the State in the cause of freedom. He was a member of the Republican convention at Philadelphia in 1856, and as presidential elector voted for John C. Fremont. At the expiration of his term of office he was re-elected senator and acted as president *pro tempore* of the senate in 1864-5. In 1866 he resigned his seat in the senate in order to accept the appointment of President Johnson to the office of judge of the United States District Court of New Hampshire, and he continued in that office twenty-four years, much approved for his legal learning, ability and honesty. Dartmouth College gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, and he was president of the constitutional convention of 1876. His death occurred in Manchester, January 2, 1891.

Dudley Chase was born in Cornish, December 30, 1771, son of Deacon Dudley and Alice (Corbet) Chase, being of the fifth

generation from Aquila Chase, one of the first settlers of Newbury, Mass. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1791, studied law and began to practice in Randolph, Vermont, in 1793. Here was his home the remainder of his life. He was attorney for Orange county from 1803 to 1811. Though elected in 1813 to the United States senate for six years, he resigned his office in 1817 in order to accept the office of judge of the supreme court of Vermont, which position he held four years, so that ever afterward he was called Judge Chase of Randolph. Several times he represented his town in the legislature and was Speaker of the House, 1823-24. Again he was elected to the United States senate in 1825 and remained there the full term of six years. He then returned to private life and the practice of his profession at Randolph. He exerted great and good influence in the legislature of Vermont and in the national senate. As a judge he was a stickler for the dignity of the court. His honesty was never questioned. His recreation was farming and gardening, in which he excelled. He was a brother of Bishop Philander Chase, founder of Kenyon and Jubilee colleges. He had no children, and so adopted and educated twelve or more, a practice which the childless might well imitate. He died February 23, 1846.

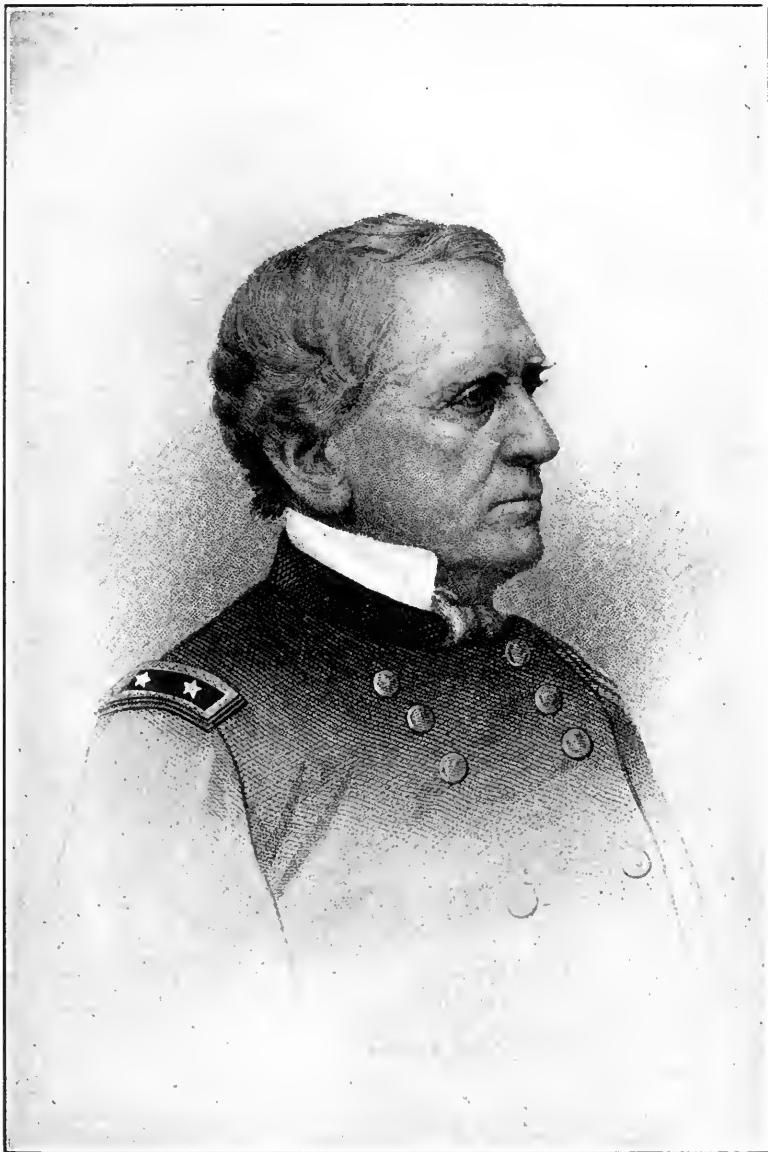
Charles Cutts, born in Portsmouth, January 30, 1769, was graduated at Harvard in 1789. He was a member of the lower branch of the legislature from 1803 to 1810, serving as Speaker of the House three years. He was elected United States Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Nahum Parker and served from June 21, 1810, to March 3, 1813. Directly afterward he was appointed senator by the governor to fill a vacancy during a recess of the legislature and served from April 2, 1813, to June 10, 1813. He became secretary of the United States Senate, serving from October 11, 1814, to December 12, 1825. He never returned to New Hampshire after his senatorial term of office. He married Lucy Henry Southall of Virginia, niece of the wife of President James Monroe and a descendant of Patrick Henry. He died in Fairfax, Virginia, January 25, 1846. It is said that he owed his political elevation to winning traits of character, or personal popularity.

John Adams Dix was born in Boscawen, July 24, 1798, son of Lieut.-Col. Timothy Dix who died while in active service in



ORIGINAL DIX HOUSE AT DIXVILLE NOTCH

Photo taken about 1878



John A. Dix

the War of 1812. He fitted for college at Salisbury Academy and Phillips Exeter Academy, and in 1811 entered the college of Montreal in order to acquire the French language. In 1812 all Americans in Canada were ordered to leave, and young Dix continued his studies under private tutors in Boston. In March, 1813, he received the commission of ensign in his father's regiment and joined him at Sackett's Harbor. Before he was fifteen years old he was acting adjutant of an independent battalion of the army, commanded by Major Timothy Upham. While in the army he gave his spare moments to the study of law and afterward studied with the Hon. William Wirt in Washington, where he was admitted to the bar in 1820. Soon after he was appointed special commissioner to Copenhagen.

General Dix, for by this title he is best known, commenced the practice of law at Cooperstown, N. Y., in 1828, and two years later removed to Albany. He was appointed adjutant general, secretary of state, and superintendent of common schools successively. He also planned the geologic survey of New York. He helped to establish and edit the *Northern Light*. From 1842 to 1844 he lived in Europe. In January, 1845, he was elected senator of the United States and his speeches there on the Oregon question, the Mexican War and slavery placed him in the front rank of statesmen and orators. In 1853 he accepted the appointment of President Pierce as assistant treasurer in the city of New York, and in 1860 he was made postmaster of that city. After about a year of service in that capacity he was called by President Buchanan to be secretary of the treasury in his cabinet. It was while serving in this office that he gave the famous order to a lieutenant of a revenue cutter to arrest his captain, who was insubordinate, and to treat him as a mutineer if he resisted, closing his dispatch with the well known words, "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot."

General Dix was appointed major-general of United States volunteers May 16, 1861, and after superintending the raising of eleven regiments in New York he was assigned to the department embracing Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, with headquarters at Baltimore. His judicious conduct contributed much toward keeping Maryland from seceding with the South, and he drove the confederate army out of the eastern shore of

Virginia. He was ordered to Fortress Monroe and succeeded General McLellan in the command of the department of Virginia. He was transferred to New York during the riots got up to resist the draft and had command of the department of the East till Lee's surrender, when he resigned his commission in the army.

He was appointed minister to France in 1866 and remained there till 1869. Here his knowledge of the French language and of law served him well. He did much to restore friendship between France and the United States, that had been somewhat strained by the expedition of Napoleon III to Mexico. After his return from Europe he was elected governor of New York. In whatever office he was placed, and few men have held so many and varied offices,—he thoroughly studied the situation and acted with wisdom, firmness and honesty. He had no large opportunity to distinguish himself as a military man; it was rather as a statesman and financier that he excelled. Throughout life he kept up his studies in the Latin classics and modern languages. While at Fortress Monroe, in the exciting times of 1863, he found leisure to make one of the best metrical translations of the famous hymn, *Dies irae*, that has ever been published. He was a very remarkable man for scholarship and general executive ability. Wherever he was, he brought things to pass. His character and deeds reflect great honor on his native town and state. He died in New York, April 29, 1879.

William Pitt Fessenden, Maine's noted senator, was born in Boscawen, October 6, 1806. His father, Samuel Fessenden, son of the Rev. William Fessenden of Fryeburg, Maine, taught school in Boscawen the previous winter, being then a senior at Dartmouth College. Daniel Webster is said to have been god-father at the christening of William Pitt Fessenden. In 1852, when Webster was a candidate for the presidency in the Whig convention he is said to have complained that he rode twenty miles on a cold winter day to the christening of this child at the request of his father, and now the grown up man was voting against him. This Senator Fessenden did by the instruction of his constituents, though he himself was always friendly to Webster, who had taught Fryeburg Academy and become acquainted with the Fessenden family.

The mother of William Pitt Fessenden was Ruth Greene,

daughter of Nathaniel and Ruth (Fowler) Greene, born in Bos-
cawen, November 27, 1787. She married, September 27, 1807,
Moody Morse Currier, and widow Ruth Currier married, in Hop-
kinton, November 26, 1810, Moses Bailey of Hopkinton and had
two sons, Edwin C. and George Bailey, who became men of
note. Edwin C. Bailey was at one time proprietor of the Boston
Herald and later he was editor of the Boston *Globe*. The
brothers of Ruth Greene were very prominent men, and it is
evident that William Pitt Fessenden inherited natural ability
from his mother as much as from his father. Samuel Fessenden
married, in 1813, Deborah Chandler of New Gloucester, Maine,
where he had settled as a lawyer. He afterward removed to
Portland and was at the head of the legal profession in Maine
for many years, holding the office also of major-general in the
militia and having other distinguished sons besides William Pitt.

William Pitt Fessenden graduated with high honors at Bow-
doin College in the Class of 1823, when he was not quite seven-
teen years of age, having previously taught a school at Lewiston,
Maine. He studied law under the supervision of his father
with Hon. Charles S. Davies of Portland and with his uncle,
Thomas Fessenden of New York. After practicing law for a
short time at Bridgton and Bangor, Maine, he settled in Port-
land in partnership with the Hon. William Willis. By intel-
lectual acumen, rather than by arts of oratory, he soon attained high
rank in his profession. His arguments were forceful, incisive
and convincing. At the age of twenty-five the Whigs failed to
persuade him to be their candidate for representative to congress,
but he then represented Portland in the State legislature and
again in 1839. In 1840 he was elected to congress as a Whig,
an ardent admirer of Henry Clay, whom he had visited in Ken-
tucky in company with Daniel Webster. After serving a term
he returned to Portland, to be again sent to the legislature of
his State. In 1854 he took his seat in the United States senate,
having been elected by a combination of Whigs and Free-soil
Democrats, who were the precursors of the Republican party.
Here he remained fifteen years, save a few months in 1864-5,
when he was Secretary of the Treasury in Lincoln's cabinet.

The writer hereof well remembers the excitement that pre-
vailed, when President Andrew Johnson was impeached. The
people of Maine watched William Pitt Fessenden, to see how he

would vote. The party lines were pretty tightly drawn in that trial. Fessenden voted so as to disappoint many Republicans, but no one doubted his sincerity and that he had good legal reasons for not sustaining the impeachment. As a senator and judge he would not be bound by the wishes of his constituents, but followed the dictates of his own conscience and reason. He said, "If my constituents doubt my motive or distrust my judgment, they must send some one else to fill my place."

The senate acknowledged him as a leader, and when he briefly spoke, attention was compelled. His oratory was without embellishments, but it was immediately convincing. Truth needs no arguments for display. The clearness of his head sometimes concealed the warmth of his heart. It was said of him that he constructed a speech as Solomon built his Temple, without sound of hammer or sight of *debris*. Every stone was shaped before it was taken from the quarry and it was fitted noiselessly into the argument to make a symmetrical and well proportioned, as well as beautiful, structure. Intellect, study and character made the man. Heredity did much for him, and he improved the gifts conferred. He died in Portland, Maine, September 9, 1869. Four sons graduated at Bowdoin College and became men of distinction.

George Gilman Fogg was born in Meredith, May 26, 1815, and was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1839. After graduation he was principal of Hebron Academy for a year or more and then became professor of English literature at Hampton Academical Institution. Thereafter he studied at Harvard Law School and began the practice of law at Gilmanton. He was elected a member of the House of Representatives in 1846 and the same year was made Secretary of State for New Hampshire. From 1856 to 1859 he was reporter of the Supreme Court of the State. He was a member of the National Republican Committee from 1856 to 1864 and its secretary in 1860. He was a delegate to the Free-Soil Convention at Buffalo in 1849, to the Pittsburgh Convention of 1852, to the Republican Convention of 1856, to the Chicago Convention of 1860 and to the Philadelphia Loyalists Convention of 1866. He was editor of the *Independent Democrat*, published first at Manchester and later at Concord. President Lincoln appointed him United States Minister to Switzerland, in which office he served four years during



JACOB H. GALLINGER

the period of the Civil War. As a Republican he was appointed by the governor to the United States senate to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Daniel Clark, serving from August 31, 1866 to March 3, 1867. Bates College gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws, and he gave to the college five thousand dollars and served as a trustee. He died in Concord, October 5, 1881.

Jacob H. Gallinger was born in Cornwall, province of Ontario, March 28, 1837, of German ancestry. He became a printer in early life and served an apprenticeship of four years, after which he went to Ogdensburg, New York, and worked a year. Returning to Cornwall he became printer and editor of the paper on which he had served his apprenticeship. Later he studied medicine and was graduated from the Cincinnati Medical Institute in 1858. His graduation was followed by two years of study and travel in Europe. On his return he came to New Hampshire and became associated with Dr. W. B. Chamberlain of Keene, adopting the principles of homeopathy. He removed to Concord in 1862 and entered upon the practice of medicine and surgery. His interest was divided between his profession and politics. In 1872-73 and again in 1891 he was elected to the lower branch of the State legislature, and he served in the State senate in 1878-80, being its president the last two years. In 1878-80 he was surgeon-general in the militia of New Hampshire with rank of brigadier-general. He was chairman of the Republican State Committee from 1882 to 1890, when he resigned, but was again elected to the position in 1898, 1900, 1902, 1904 and 1906, resigning in 1908. He was chairman of the delegation from New Hampshire to the Republican National Conventions of 1888, 1900, 1904 and 1908, also chairman of the merchant marine commission in 1904-5. He was elected as a Republican to the 49th and 50th congresses, 1885-89, and declined renomination to the 51st congress. Since March 4, 1891 he has been a member of the United States senate and has the reputation of being a wise counselor and forceful speaker. He has contributed various articles to medical journals and other periodicals. Dartmouth honored him with the degree of Master of Arts.

James Wilson Grimes was born at Deering, October 2, 1816, son of John and Elizabeth (Wilson) Grimes, of Scotch-Irish lineage. He was educated at various academies and Dartmouth

College, studied law with James Walker of Peterborough and settled in the practice of law at Burlington Iowa, in 1836. Soon he was in the legislature and in 1854 he was elected governor of Iowa by a combination of Whigs and Free-Soilers. In January, 1858, he was chosen United States senator and served by re-election till December 6, 1869, when he resigned on account of ill health. He was one of the founders of the Republican party in the West. His allegiance to that party did not warp his judgment, and he voted for the acquittal of President Andrew Johnson, when the attempt was made to imitate some small republics and oust the chief official, because his policy was disapproved by some. There was not sufficient cause for a "revolution," and in a brief presidential term there was not much danger that the country would go to ruin. So Grimes and Fessenden thought and voted, while Chandler was ardent for condemnation. Senator Grimes founded a free library in Burlington, a professorship in Iowa College, and a scholarship there and at Dartmouth. Both colleges gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. He died at Burlington, Iowa, February 7, 1872.

Henry French Hollis was born in West Concord, August 30, 1869; educated in the Concord High School and Harvard College, where he was graduated in 1892, *magna cum laude*. Member of the Phi Beta Kappa fraternity. During his college course he pursued also the study of law at the Harvard Law School and so shortly after his graduation he was admitted to the bar and began practice at Concord; has been prominent in athletic clubs. He was Democratic candidate for congress in 1900 and Democratic candidate for governor in 1902 and 1904. For some time he was chairman of the Democratic state committee. He was elected to the United States senate, after a prolonged voting contest, in 1813.

Benning Wentworth Jenness was born in Deerfield, July 14, 1806. His education was obtained in the common schools and at Bradford Academy, Massachusetts. Engaging in mercantile pursuits in Strafford he was sent to represent that town in the legislature a number of terms. He was judge of probate in Strafford county, 1841-45. He was appointed to the United States senate to fill a vacancy caused by the resignation of Levi Woodbury and served from November 12, 1845 to June 13, 1846. He was a member of the constitutional convention of 1850 and delegate to the Democratic national convention of 1852. His



GILMAN MARSTON

party nominated him for governor in 1861, but he withdrew in favor of Gen. George Stark. Moving to Ohio he engaged in lumbering and banking and died in Cleveland, November 16, 1879.

Gilman Marston was born in Orford, August 20, 1811, and was graduated from Dartmouth in 1837 and from the Harvard Law School in 1840. In early life he worked on a farm and taught school to assist in his education. After he left college he had charge for a year and a half of an academy in Indianapolis, Indiana. He began the practice of law in Exeter in 1841. Soon he was representing that town in the House of Representatives, 1845-49. He was elected as a Republican to the 36th and 37th congresses, 1859-63 and re-elected to the 39th congress, 1865-67. In 1861 he was appointed colonel of the 2nd New Hampshire Infantry and was made brigadier-general of volunteers, November 29, 1862. He took part in several battles, being wounded at Bull Run. He resigned his commission April 20, 1865, and returned to the practice of law. In 1870 he declined the governorship of Idaho Territory. Again he was a member of the State house of representatives in 1872-73 and in 1876-78. He was appointed to the United States senate and served from March 5 to June 18, 1889. Dartmouth gave him the degree of Doctor of Laws. He died in Exeter July 3, 1890. His career was marked by distinguishing ability, ambition, and earnest endeavor. As a lawyer it is said of him that he was always convinced of the justice of his cause, whether others were or not, and that he sought popularity and enjoyed it. What prominent man does not?

Moses Norris, Jr., was born in Pittsfield, November 8, 1799; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1828 and practiced law at Barnstead, Pittsfield and Manchester. He represented Pittsfield in the lower house of the state legislature, 1837-40, was elected as a Democrat to the 28th and 29th congresses, 1843-47 and was re-elected to the state house of representatives and chosen speaker in 1847. After serving as solicitor for Merrimack county five years he was elected to the United States senate and served from March 4, 1849 to his death in Washington, D. C., January 11, 1855. In 1835 he prosecuted the Rev. George Storrs for conducting an abolition meeting in Pittsfield. He was a thorough Democratic partisan.

Nahum Parker, senator from New Hampshire, was born in Shrewsbury, Mass., March 4, 1760. He served as a soldier in the Revolution and was present at the surrender of Burgoyne. Settling in Fitzwilliam in 1786 he represented that town in the state legislature, 1794-1804 and 1806-7. He was a member of the governor's council, 1804-5. Elected to the United States senate he served from March 4, 1807 to June 1, 1810, when he resigned. He was justice of the court of common pleas for Cheshire and Sullivan counties, 1807-13, an associate justice of the western circuit, 1813-16, judge of the court of sessions, Cheshire county, 1821, and of the court of common pleas, Hillsborough county, 1822, member of the state senate and its president in 1828, and died in Fitzwilliam November 12, 1839.

James Willis Patterson was born in Henniker July 2, 1823; graduated from Dartmouth College and was a professor in that institution, 1854-65; member of the state house of representatives in 1862; elected as a Republican to the 38th and 39th congresses, 1863-67; elected to the United States senate and served from March 4, 1867, to March 3, 1873; again a professor in Dartmouth College; again a member of the state house of representatives, 1877-8; appointed state superintendent of public instruction, 1885-93; died in Hanover, May 4, 1893.

Austin Franklin Pike was born in Hebron, October 14, 1819; admitted to the bar of Merrimack county in July, 1845; member of the state house of representatives in 1850-52 and 1865-6, and was speaker in the last two years; member of the state senate in 1857-8 and president the last year; delegate to the Philadelphia convention which nominated Gen. Fremont for President, 1856; elected as a Republican to the 43rd congress, 1873-5; elected as a Republican to the United States senate and served from March 4, 1883, until his death in Franklin, October 8, 1886.

Edward Henry Rollins was born in Somersworth (Rollinsford), October 3, 1824; attended academies in Dover and South Berwick; engaged in mercantile pursuits; chairman of the Republican state committee of New Hampshire at its organization and for many succeeding years; member of the state legislature 1855-57, and for the last two years Speaker of the House; chairman of the New Hampshire delegation in the Republican national convention of 1860 that nominated Lincoln and Hamlin; elected to the 37th, 38th and 39th congresses, 1861-7; secretary of the

Union Pacific railroad company in May, 1860, and treasurer in April, 1871, resigning those positions before taking his seat in the senate; elected as a Republican to the United States senate and served from March 4, 1877, to March 3, 1883; died at the Isles of Shoals, July 31, 1889.

James Sheafe was born in Portsmouth, November 16, 1755; graduated from Harvard College in 1774; merchant; member of the state house of representatives and of the state senate; elected as a Federalist to the 6th congress, 1799-1801; elected to the United States senate and served from March 4, 1801, until his resignation, June 11, 1802; defeated as candidate for governor in 1816; died in Portsmouth, December 5, 1829.

Thomas Weston Thompson was born in Boston, Mass., March 15, 1766; graduated from Harvard College in 1786; began the practice of law at Salisbury, Mass., in 1791 and continued there till 1810, serving also as postmaster five years; moved to Concord in 1810; member of the state house of representatives, 1807-8 and 1813-14, and Speaker for the last two years; elected to the 9th congress, 1805-7; treasurer of New Hampshire, 1809-11; appointed to the United States senate to fill vacancy caused by the death of Nicholas Gilman, and served from June 24, 1814, to March 3, 1817; trustee of Dartmouth College, 1801-21; died in Concord, October 1, 1821.

Bainbridge Wadleigh was born in Bradford, January 4, 1831; admitted to the bar in Newport in 1850; served eight years in the state legislature; elected as a Republican to the United States senate and served 1873-79; resumed the practice of law in Boston, Mass., and died there, January 24, 1891.

John Sullivan Wells was born in Durham, October, 1803; grand-nephew of General John Sullivan; attended the academy in Pembroke; practiced law in Guildhall, Vermont, 1828-35; in Bangor, Maine, in 1835; thereafter in Exeter, N. H.; served several years in the state house of representatives, as Speaker in 1841; attorney-general of the state in 1847; member and president of the state senate 1851-2. He was defeated for the office of United States senator on the Democratic ticket in 1854, but shortly after was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Moses Norris and served from January 16, 1855, to March 3, 1855. He died in Exeter, August 1, 1860. His brother, Samuel Wells, was governor of Maine, and another

brother, Joseph Bartlett Wells, was state attorney and governor of Illinois.

John Wingate Weeks was born in Lancaster, April 11, 1860. He was graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1881 and served in the navy as a midshipman and in the Spanish-American War as a lieutenant in the volunteer navy. He was mayor of Newton, Massachusetts, two years and was elected as a Republican to the 59th, 60th, 61st and 62nd congresses, 1905-13, at the end of which period he was elected to the United State senate. His name was much before the public as a possible nominee of the Republican party for President of the United States.

Winthrop and Abigail (Witham) Colbath had a son born at Farmington, February 16, 1812, named Jeremiah Jones Colbath. His parents were very poor and several children followed. To help them Jeremiah was apprenticed at the age of ten to William Knight of Farmington, to be brought up as a farmer. He was indentured to remain till twenty-one years of age, to have food and clothing, a month's schooling every year, and at the end of his apprenticeship six sheep and a yoke of oxen. A neighbor, Mrs. Eastman, supplied him with books, and thus he became familiar with about a thousand volumes of history, biography, travel and romance, besides the current numbers of the *North American Review*. He sold his sheep and oxen for eighty-four dollars, and his first step in life was to have his name changed to Henry Wilson. Why the change was desired and why that name was chosen nobody knows. He worked a month cutting logs in the woods for six dollars, a big sum of money to him. Then he started out in search of work, walking from one place to another and finding nothing to do till he reached Natick, Mass. Here he learned to make shoes. In 1836 he visited Washington and saw enough of slavery and heard enough of subservience of the North to the interests of slaveholders, that he came back an abolitionist and ever remained one. For short terms he studied at Strafford, Wolfeborough and Concord academies. In 1839 he returned to Natick and taught school for a term. Then he became an independent manufacturer of shoes on a small scale for the southern market and continued in this business for ten years with varying success. He represented Natick in both house and senate of Massachusetts and was ap-



W. Wilson

pointed brigadier-general in the militia. He was a delegate to the national Whig convention in 1848. For three years he edited *The Republican*. Massachusetts senate elected him its president, 1851-2. On the rise of the American, or Know-Nothing, party he became a leader therein. He was elected to the United States senate in 1855, to succeed Edward Everett, and continued in that body till he was chosen Vice-President in 1872. During all his political career he was one of the foremost advocates of anti-slavery. The temperance cause recognized in him a champion. He rendered good service in organizing and bringing to the front the first regiments of soldiers for the protection of Washington. He understood American history as well as his colleague, Charles Sumner, who in public speaking could not outdo Wilson in practical information and display of common sense. Mr. Wilson was the author of several works dealing with legislation on slave questions. His most important work was a "History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America," in three volumes. He died at Washington, November 22, 1875. How shall students of heredity account for him? Great men start up in unexpected places and in obscure families. Poverty is no bar to progress, if there is a determined will and a love for truth and righteousness. There is always a chance to come to the front, if one has a great message and is not ashamed or afraid to declare it. To champion the cause of the oppressed is the surest road to posthumous fame, sometimes by way of martyrdom, but not always. Many would like to be a senator or a vice-president, if the upward struggle were not too severe. It is best to do one's best, whether public honors come or not. Seeming accidents put some men on a pedestal. "Pyramids are pyramids in vales."

Leonard Wilcox was born in Hanover, January 24, 1799; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1817; began practice of law in Orford in 1820; state representative seven years; judge of the superior court 1838-40; appointed as a Democrat to the United State senate to fill vacancy caused by the resignation of Franklin Pierce; subsequently elected and served from March 1, 1842, to March 3, 1843; judge of the court of common pleas of New Hampshire, 1847-8; again appointed judge of the superior court, June 26, 1848, and served till his death, in Orford, June 18, 1850. His father was Jeduthan Wilcox, representative in con-

gress, and he himself had three sons who graduated from Dartmouth College and became lawyers.

Paine Wingate was born in Amesbury, Mass., May 14, 1739; graduated from Harvard College in 1759; ordained minister of the Congregational church in Hampton Falls, 1763; removed to Stratham in 1776 and became a farmer; member of the state house of representatives; delegate in the continental congress, 1787-8; elected to the United States senate and served from March 4, 1789, to March 3, 1793; elected to the 3rd congress, 1794-5; judge of the superior court of New Hampshire, 1798-1809; died in Stratham, March 7, 1838.

Chapter XVIII

NEW HAMPSHIRE IN THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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GEORGE EVERETT ADAMS, born at Keene, June 18, 1840, moved with his parents to Chicago in 1853. He was graduated at Harvard in 1860 and practiced law in Chicago. After serving in the state senate he was elected as a Republican to four successive congresses, 1883-91, after which he resumed the practice of law in Chicago.

Nathan Appleton was born in New Ipswich, October 6, 1779. Studied at Dartmouth College but did not finish the course. He was one of the founders of the cotton mills at Waltham and at Lowell, Mass. For several years he was a member of the legislature of Massachusetts. He was a member of the 22nd and 27th congresses as a Whig. He died in Boston July 14, 1861. A daughter married the poet, Henry W. Longfellow.

Henry Ashley was born in Winchester, February 19, 1778. He removed to Catskill, New York, where he became a wealthy manufacturer of leather. He served in the 19th congress, 1825-7. He died in Catskill, February 14, 1829.

Charles Humphrey Atherton was born in Amherst, August 14, 1773; graduated from Harvard in 1794. He practiced law in Amherst, was register of probate, 1798-1807, and was elected as a Federalist to the 14th congress, 1815-17. He declined a re-election and was a member of the state legislature, 1823-39. He died in Amherst, January 8, 1853.

David Atwood, representative from Wisconsin, was born at Bedford, N. H., December 15, 1815; for twenty-three years was editor and publisher of the State Journal, Madison, Wis.; United States assessor four years; mayor of Madison in 1868; member of the state legislature in 1861; elected as a Republican to the 41st congress; died in Madison, December 11, 1889.

Clinton Babbitt was born in Westmoreland, November 16, 1831. He graduated at Keene Academy and removed to Wis-

consin in 1853; was one of the first aldermen of Beloit and was appointed postmaster of that city by President Cleveland in 1886; elected as a Democrat to the 52nd congress, 1891-93.

Goldsmith Fox Bailey was born in Westmoreland, July 17, 1823. He edited a country newspaper, studied law and begun practice in Fitchburg, Mass.; served in both house and senate of Massachusetts and was elected to the 37th congress and served from March 4, 1861, till his death in Fitchburg, May 8, 1862.

Henry M. Baker was born in Bow, January 11, 1841. He graduated at New Hampshire Conference Seminary in 1859, at Dartmouth College in 1863 and at Columbia College Law School in 1866; became a clerk in the war and treasury departments at Washington and later practiced law there. He was judge advocate-general of the national guard of New Hampshire, 1886-7, with rank of brigadier-general; member of the State Senate, 1891-2; member of congress, 1893-7; member of the state house of representatives, 1905-9. He then resumed the practice of law in Washington until his death, May 30, 1912.

Ichabod Bartlett was born in Salisbury July 24, 1786. After graduating from Dartmouth College in 1808 he was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Durham in 1811. In 1816 he removed to Portsmouth. He was a member of the state house of representatives seven terms, and speaker in 1821. He was elected to the 19th and 20th congresses, 1823-27. He declined the appointment as chief justice of the court of common pleas in 1825. Again he served as a member of the house of representatives in his native state, in 1832, 1851 and 1852. He was a member of the state constitutional convention in 1850 and died at Portsmouth, October 19, 1853.

Josiah Bartlett, Jr., born in Kingston, December 16, 1788, studied medicine and began practice in Stratham. He was presidential elector on the Washington ticket in 1793 and again on the John Quincy Adams ticket in 1825. He served in the 12th congress, 1811-13. He died in Stratham, April 14, 1838.

Benning Moulton Bean was born in Moultonborough January 9, 1782. He served in the state house of representatives 1815-23, and 1826, and in the state senate 1824-26, 1831-32, being president in the last year. He was a member of the governor's council in 1829, and was elected to the 23rd and 24th congresses, 1833-37. He died in Moultonborough, February 9, 1866.

Curtis Coe Bean was born in Tamworth, January 4, 1828. He attended Phillips Exeter Academy, studied law and was admitted to the bar in Tennessee in 1865. In that state he was attorney-general of a judicial district and a member of the legislature. He removed to Arizona in 1869 and was a member of the upper house in the legislative assembly of 1879. He was elected as a Republican a delegate to the 49th congress, 1885-87. He died in New York City February 1, 1904.

Samuel Newell Bell was born in Chester, March 25, 1829. After graduating from Dartmouth College in 1847 he studied law and practiced in Manchester. He was elected as a Democrat to the 42nd congress and re-elected to the 44th. The governor and council appointed him chief justice of the superior court of New Hampshire, but he declined the honor. He died at Woodstock, February 8, 1889.

Jacob Benton was born in Waterford, Vermont, August 19, 1814. He removed to Lancaster in 1842, where he was admitted to the bar, and here was his home through the remainder of his life. He served three terms in the state legislature and was a delegate to the Republican national convention of 1860. Of the state volunteers he was brigadier-general. He served as a Republican in the 40th and 41st congresses, 1867-71. Then he resumed the practice of law and died at Lancaster September 29, 1892.

Silas Betton was born in Londonderry, August 26, 1768. He graduated at Dartmouth College in 1787 and was elected to the 8th and 9th congresses, 1803-7. He was high sheriff of Rockingham county for several years. Died at Salem, January 22, 1822.

Jonathan Blanchard was born in Dunstable, September 18, 1738. He took an active part in the Revolution and sat in the Continental Congress, 1783-4. He died in Dunstable, July 16, 1788.

James Franklin Briggs was born in Bury, Lancashire, England, October 23, 1827; came to America when young and was educated in the common schools; was admitted to the bar in 1851 and practiced at Hillsborough; removed to Manchester in 1871. He was a member of the state legislature in 1856-8 and 1874, and of the State Senate in 1876. He was Quartermaster of the Eleventh New Hampshire regiment in the Civil War; elected to the 45th, 46th and 47th congresses, 1877-83, as a Re-

publican; again elected to state legislature in 1883, and 1891-97, the last year being Speaker of the House. Member of the constitutional convention of 1889. He died at Manchester, January 21, 1905.

John Brodhead was born in Lower Smithfield, Pa., October 2, 1770. He moved to New Hampshire in 1796. He was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church forty-four years and chaplain of New Hampshire legislature, 1817-27. He represented New Hampshire in the 21st and 22nd congresses, 1829-33. He died in Newmarket, April 7, 1838.

Titus Brown was born in Cheshire county, February 11, 1786. Middlebury College was his *alma mater*. He practiced law in Francestown. Was a member of the state legislature, 1820-25, and solicitor for Hillsborough county seven years. He was elected to the 19th and 20th congresses, 1825-29, and was president of the state senate in 1842. He died in Francestown, January 29, 1849.

Edmund Burke was born in Westminster, Vermont, January 23, 1809. He began the practice of law in Newport, N. H., in 1833; established the New Hampshire *Argus* and edited it for several years; commissioned as adjutant in the militia in 1837 and as brigade inspector in 1838; elected as a Democrat to the 26th, 27th and 28th congresses, 1839-45; appointed commissioner of patents by President Polk and served four years. Then he resumed the practice of law in Newport, and died there January 25, 1882. He was regarded as a leader in the Democratic party, presiding at the state conventions and acting as delegate to the national conventions that nominated Presidents Polk and Pierce, and he is said to have exerted more influence than any other to secure the nomination of President Pierce. As a lawyer he was among the foremost of his profession.

Henry Gordon Burleigh was born in Canaan, June 2, 1832. Removed to Ticonderoga, Essex County, N. Y., and there engaged in business. He was a member of the assembly for Washington county in 1876 and was elected to the 48th and 49th congresses, 1883-87; removed to Whitehall, N. Y., and died there August 10, 1900.

William Burleigh was born in Rockingham county October 24, 1785. He studied law and practiced in South Berwick,

Maine; was elected to the 18th and 19th congresses, 1823-27. Died in South Berwick, July 2, 1827.

Josiah Butler, born in Pelham in 1779, graduated at Harvard College in 1803. Commenced practice of law in South Deerfield. He was representative in the state legislature for several terms and was sheriff of Rockingham county 1810-13. He was elected as a Democrat to the 15th, 16th and 17th congresses, 1818-23; associate justice of the state court of common pleas, 1825-33. He died in Deerfield, November 8, 1854.

Martin Butterfield was born in Westmoreland, December 8, 1790. Removed to Palmyra, N. Y., in 1828 and engaged in hardware business and manufacture of rope and cordage. Was presidential elector in 1848; elected as a Republican to the 36th congress, 1859-61. He died in Palmyra, N. Y., August 6, 1866.

Peter Carleton was born in Haverhill, Mass., September 19, 1755. He served in a Massachusetts regiment in the Revolution, moved to Landaff about 1789, served in both branches of the state legislature and was elected to the 10th congress as a Democrat, 1807-09. He died in Landaff, April 29, 1828.

Davis Carpenter, a representative from New York, was born in Walpole, N. H., December 25, 1799; studied medicine and was graduated from Middlebury College in 1823; commenced practice in Brockport, N. Y.; elected as a Whig to the 33rd congress, to fill vacancy caused by resignation of Azariah Boody, and served from December 5, 1854, to March 3, 1855; died at Brockport, October 22, 1878.

John Curtis Chamberlain was born in Worcester, Mass., June 5, 1772; was graduated at Harvard College in 1793, and practiced law at Alstead, N. H. He was elected as a Federalist to the 11th congress, 1809-11. He died at Utica, N. Y., December 8, 1834.

Thomas Chandler was born in Bedford, August 10, 1772. He was justice of the peace in 1808 and captain in the militia in 1815. His town sent him as representative to the legislature in 1818 and again in 1827, and he was elected as a Democrat to the 21st and 22nd congresses, 1829-33. He died in Bedford, January 28, 1866.

Clifton Claggett, born in Portsmouth, December 3, 1762, began the practice of law in Litchfield in 1787. He was appointed judge of probate for Hillsborough county in 1810 and moved

to Amherst. Both towns were represented by him in the legislature. He was elected to the 8th congress, 1803-05; was judge of the supreme court in 1812; again elected to the 15th and 16th congresses, 1817-21; appointed judge of probate in 1823 and held that office till his death in Amherst, January 29, 1829.

Frank Gay Clarke was born in Wilton, September 10, 1850; was educated at Kimball Union Academy and Dartmouth College; practiced law at Peterboro; served in both branches of the state legislature and was speaker of the house in 1891; was colonel on the military staff of Governor Hale; elected as a Republican to the 55th and 56th congresses, 1897-1901. He died in Peterboro, January 9, 1901.

Clark Beaton Cochrane was born in New Boston, May 31, 1815; moved to Montgomery county, N. Y.; was a member of the New York house of representatives in 1844-45; elected as a Republican to the 35th and 36th congresses, 1857-61; moved to Albany, where he continued the practice of law. He was a member of the Republican national convention of 1864 and of the state house of representatives in 1866. He died in Albany, N. Y., March 5, 1867.

Charles Carter Comstock was born in Sullivan, March 5, 1818; moved to Grand Rapids in 1853; was farmer, lumberman and manufacturer of furniture; mayor of Grand Rapids in 1863-64; elected as a Fusion Democrat to the 49th congress, 1885-87. He died in Grand Rapids, Mich., February 20, 1900.

Frank Dunklee Currier was born in Canaan, October 30, 1853; was admitted to the bar in 1874; member of the state house of representatives in 1879; secretary of the Republican state committee, 1882-90; clerk of the state senate, 1883-87; delegate in the Republican national convention of 1884; president of the state senate in 1887; naval officer of customs at the port of Boston, Mass., 1890-94; speaker of the state house of representatives in 1899; elected as a Republican to the 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st and 62nd congresses, 1901-13.

Samuel Cushman was born in Portsmouth, June 8, 1783; practiced law in Portsmouth; county treasurer 1823-28; member of the state council, 1833-35; elected as a Democrat to the 24th and 25th congresses, 1835-39; United States naval officer at Portsmouth, 1845-49. He died at Portsmouth, May 20, 1851.

William Shapleigh Damrell, representative from Massachu-

setts, was born in Portsmouth, N. H., November 29, 1809; became the proprietor of a large printing establishment in Boston; elected as an American to the 34th and as a Republican to the 35th congress, 1855-59; died in Dedham, Mass., May 17, 1860.

Noah Davis was born in Haverhill, N. H., September 10, 1818; moved with his parents to Albion, N. Y., in 1825; practiced law in Gainesville, Buffalo, and Albion; judge of the supreme court, 1857-68; moved to New York City and practiced law; elected as a Republican to the 41st congress, 1868-69; resigned and appointed by President Grant United States attorney for the southern district of New York, serving from 1870 to 1872, when he resigned, having been elected a judge of the supreme court of the state; served till 1887; member of council of the university of New York City. He died in New York City, March 20, 1902.

Henry Alexander Scammell Dearborn was born in Exeter, March 3, 1783; graduated from William and Mary College in 1803; practiced law in Salem, Mass.; was collector of customs in Boston, 1812-29; served in the War of 1812 as brigadier-general commanding the volunteers in the defense of Boston harbor; member of the state constitutional convention of 1820; served in both branches of the Massachusetts legislature; elected to the 22nd congress, 1831-33, from Massachusetts, adjutant general of Massachusetts, 1834-43; mayor of Roxbury, 1847-51. He died at Portland, Maine, July 29, 1851.

Daniel Meserve Durell was born in Lee, July 20, 1769; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1794; was admitted to the bar in Dover in 1797, where he practiced; elected to the 10th congress, 1807-09; member of the state legislature in 1816; chief justice of the district court of common pleas 1816-21; United States attorney, district of New Hampshire, 1820-34. He died at Dover, April 29, 1841.

Experience Esterbrook was born in Lebanon, April 30, 1813; began the practice of law at Geneva, Wisconsin, in 1840; member of the state house of representatives in 1851; attorney-general of Wisconsin in 1852; moved to Nebraska territory and served as district attorney, 1856-59; elected to 36th congress, 1859, but his election was contested and a year later he was succeeded by Samuel G. Daily; moved to Chicago in 1894. He died in Omaha, Nebraska, March 26, 1894.

Ira Allen Eastman was born in Gilmanton, January 1, 1809; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1829; practiced law in Gilmanton; served several years in both branches of the State legislature; speaker of the house 1837-39; register of probate; elected as a Democrat to the 26th and 27th congresses, 1839-43; judge of the common pleas, superior and supreme courts, 1844-59. He died at Manchester, March 21, 1881.

Nehemiah Eastman was born in Gilmanton, June 16, 1782; practiced law in Farmington; served in both branches of the state legislature; elected to the 19th congress, 1825-27. He died in Farmington, January 11, 1856.

Thomas McKey Edwards was born in Cheshire county, December 16, 1795; graduated from Dartmouth College; admitted to the bar and practiced law; served several terms in the state legislature; presidential elector on the Fremont ticket in 1856; elected as a Republican to the 36th and 37th congresses, 1859-63. He died in Keene, May 1, 1875.

Jacob H. Ela was born in Rochester, July 18, 1820; printer and farmer; member of the state legislature, 1857-8; United States Marshal, 1861-66; elected as a Republican to the 40th and 41st congresses, 1867-71; appointed by President Grant fifth auditor of the treasury. Died August 21, 1884.

Caleb Ellis was born at Walpole, Mass., April 16, 1767; graduated from Harvard in 1793; practiced law in Newport and Claremont, N. H.; elected to 9th congress, 1805-7; member of New Hampshire house of representatives in 1803; on the governor's council 1809-10; elected state senator in 1811; judge of the superior court of New Hampshire from 1813 to his death in Claremont, May 6, 1816.

Evarts Worcester Farr was born in Littleton, October 10, 1840; educated at Dartmouth College; major in the Union Army in the Civil War; admitted to the bar in 1867; member of the executive council in 1876; assistant assessor of internal revenue in 1865-69; assessor 1869-73; elected to the 46th congress and served from March 4, 1879, till his death in Littleton, November 30, 1880.

James Farrington was born in Conway, July 26, 1789; graduated from Fryeburg academy; studied medicine and began practice in Rochester; served in both branches of the state legis-

lature; elected as a Democrat to the 25th congress, 1837-38. Died in Rochester October 29, 1859.

John Fisher was born in Londonderry, March 13, 1806; farmer and merchant; for twenty-one years had charge of an iron manufacturing establishment in Hamilton, Canada, where he was mayor of the city; settled in Batavia, N. Y., in 1856; elected as a Republican to the 41st congress, 1869-71. He died at Batavia, March 28, 1882.

Jonathan Fish was born in Amherst, September 26, 1773; elected as a Democrat to the 11th congress, 1809-11, and again to the 13th and 14th congresses, 1813-15. He resigned his seat to accept the position of United States attorney for the southern district of New York and served till June, 1819. He died near Newburgh, N. Y., July 13, 1832.

Alvan Flanders was born in Hopkinton, August 2, 1825; learned the machinist trade in Boston; moved to California in 1851; engaged in lumber business; one of the projectors and proprietors of the San Francisco *Daily Times*; member of the state legislature in 1861; moved to Washington territory and engaged in business; elected as a Republican to the 41st congress, 1869-71; appointed by President Grant governor of Washington Territory and served one year.

Benjamin Franklin Flanders was born in Bristol, January 26, 1816; educated at New Hampton Academy and Dartmouth College, 1842; studied law but was never admitted to the bar; edited the New Orleans Tropic in 1845; alderman of New Orleans in 1847; superintendent of public schools of Louisiana, 1850; elected as a Unionist to the 37th congress, and served a few months in 1863; military governor of Louisiana, 1867-8; mayor of New Orleans, 1870; assistant United States treasurer in New Orleans, 1873-82. Died near Youngsville, La., March 13, 1896.

Nathaniel Folsom was born in Exeter, September 18, 1726; served as captain in the French and Indian War; colonel of the fourth regiment at the beginning of the Revolution; brigadier-general of troops sent to Boston; major general of New Hampshire militia; delegate in the Continental Congress, 1774-5 and 1777-80; executive councilor in 1778; delegate to the constitutional convention of 1783 and its president; chief justice of the court of common pleas. He died in Exeter, May 26, 1790.

Ezra Bartlett French was born in Landaff, September 23, 1810; moved to Damariscotta, Maine; Secretary of State of Maine; elected to the 36th congress, 1859-61; appointed second auditor of the treasury, in 1861, by President Lincoln and continued through the administrations of Presidents Johnson, Grant and Hayes. He died in Washington, D. C., April 24, 1881.

John R. French was born in Gilmanton, May 28, 1819; learned the printer's trade; for five years was associate editor of the *New Hampshire Statesman* at Concord; two years editor of the *Eastern Journal* at Biddeford; moved to Lake county, Ohio, in 1854; editor of the *Telegraph*, the *Press*, and in 1856 the *Cleveland Morning Leader*; member of the state legislature, 1858-9; in the treasury department at Washington in 1861; appointed by President Lincoln in 1864 on the board of direct tax commissioners for North Carolina; delegate to the constitutional convention of N. C., in 1867; elected as a Republican to the 40th congress, 1868-9; elected Sergeant-at-Arms of the United States senate in December, 1870, and held the office nine years; appointed secretary of the Ute commission in July, 1880; moved to Boise City, Idaho, and was editor of the *Boise Sun*. He died in Boise, October 2, 1890.

Rufus Smith Frost was born in Marlboro, July 18, 1826; moved to Boston in 1833; merchant; mayor of Chelsea, 1867-8; member of the Massachusetts senate, 1871-2, and of the governor's council, 1873-4; election to the 44th congress contested by Josiah G. Abbott, after sitting one year in the house; president of the woolen manufacturers' national association for seven years, of the Boston board of trade for two years, and of the New England conservatory of music for eight years; delegate in the Republican national convention of 1892. He died in Chicago, Ill., March 6, 1894.

Thomas Gallagher was born in Concord in 1850; moved to Chicago in 1856; learned the trade of an iron moulder; entered the hat business in Chicago in 1878; twice a member of the city council of Chicago and six years a member of the board of education; prominent in the leadership of the Democratic party; elected to the 61st and 62nd congresses, 1899-13.

Charles Jervis Gilman was born in Exeter, February 26, 1824; member of the legislature of New Hampshire in 1850; practiced law in Brunswick, Maine; member of the legislature

of Maine in 1854; elected as a Republican to the 35th congress, 1857-9; delegate to the Republican national convention in 1860. He died in Brunswick, Maine, February 5, 1901.

Robert Goodenow was born in Farmington, June 10, 1800; admitted to the bar in 1821 and practiced in Farmington; county attorney, 1828-34 and 1841; removed to Maine and practiced in Paris; elected as Whig to the 32nd congress, 1851-53. He was appointed state bank commissioner in 1857. He died in Farmington, Maine, May 15, 1874.

Rufus K. Goodenow, brother to the one last named, was born in Henniker, April 24, 1790; settled in Brownfield, Maine; farmer; captain in the War of 1812; moved to Paris, Maine, and became clerk of Oxford county court, 1821-37; member of State legislature; elector on the Harrison ticket, 1840; elected as Whig to the 31st congress, 1849-51. He died in Paris, Maine, March 24, 1863.

William Gordon was born April 12, 1763; graduated from Harvard in 1779; lawyer; elected to the 5th and 6th congresses to represent New Hampshire, served from 1797 to 1800, when he resigned. He died in Boston, Mass., May 8, 1802.

Salma Hale was born in Alstead, March 7, 1787; editor of the Walpole *Political Observatory*; studied law; clerk of Cheshire county court of common pleas; moved to Keene in 1813; elected as a Democrat to the 15th congress, 1817-19; clerk of the supreme court of New Hampshire, 1817-34; admitted to the bar, 1834; secretary to the boundary commission appointed under the treaty of Ghent; several years a member of the state legislature. He died in Somerville, Mass., November 19, 1866.

William Hale was born in Portsmouth, August 6, 1765; merchant and shipowner; member of both branches of the legislature and of the governor's council; elected as a Federalist to the 11th congress, 1809-11; elected on the peace ticket to the 13th and 14th congresses, 1813-17. He died in Dover, November 8, 1848.

Joshua Gilman Hall was born in Wakefield, November 5, 1828; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1851; admitted to the bar in 1855 and practiced in Wakefield and Dover; solicitor of Strafford county, 1862-74; mayor of Dover, 1866-7; member of the state senate, 1871-2, and of the state house of representatives, 1874; attorney of the United States for the district of

New Hampshire, 1874-79; elected as a Republican to the 46th and 47th congresses, 1879-83. He died in Dover, October 31, 1898.

Obed Hall was elected to the 12th congress, 1811-13, to represent New Hampshire. He died in Bartlett, April 1, 1828.

Joseph Hammons, a representative from New Hampshire, was born in Cornish, Maine, March 3, 1737; studied medicine and began practice in Farmington, N. H.; elected to the 21st and 22nd congresses, 1829-33; postmaster at Dover, 1833-36. He died in Farmington, March 29, 1836.

John Adams Harper was born in Deerfield, November 2, 1779; admitted to the bar and practiced law in Meredith; elected as a War Democrat to the 12th congress, 1811-13; defeated for re-election. He died in Laconia, June 18, 1816.

Joseph Morrill Harper was born in Limerick, Maine, June 21, 1787; studied medicine and began practice in Canterbury, N. H., in 1811; assistant surgeon in the War of 1812; served in both branches of the state legislature and was president of the senate in 1830; ex officio governor in 1831; elected as a Democrat to the 22nd and 23rd congresses, 1831-35. He died in Canterbury, January 15, 1865.

Jonathan Harvey was born in Sutton, February 25, 1780; served several years in both branches of the legislature and was president of the senate; member of the executive council, 1823-25; elected to the 19th, 20th and 21st congresses, 1825-31. He died in Sutton, August 23, 1859.

Nathaniel Appleton Haven was born in Portsmouth, July 19, 1762; graduated at Harvard College in 1779, elected as a Federalist to the 11th congress, 1809-11. He died in Portsmouth, March 13, 1831.

Martin Alonzo Haynes, representative from New Hampshire, was born in Springfield, July 30, 1842; learned the printer's trade; enlisted as a private in 1861 in the second New Hampshire regiment and was wounded at Bull Run, Glendale, and the second Bull Run battles; moved to Lake village in 1868; established the *Lake Village Times*; member of the state house of representatives, 1872-3; clerk of the supreme court of Belknap county, 1876-83; president of the New Hampshire veteran association, 1881-2; department commander grand army of the republic, 1881-2; elected as a Republican to the 48th and 49th

congresses, 1883-87; appointed internal revenue agent of the treasury under President Harrison. Residence, Lakeport.

George Cochrane Hazelton, representative from Wisconsin, was born in Chester, January 3, 1833; educated at Pinkerton Academy, Dummer Academy, and Union College, where he was graduated in 1858; settled in Boscobel, Wis., in 1863, in the practice of law; prosecuting attorney of Grant county; member of the state senate, 1867-71; elected as a Republican to the 45th, 46th and 47th congresses, 1877-83; located in Washington in the practice of law.

Gerry Whiting Hazelton was born at Chester, February 24, 1829; admitted to the bar; removed to Wisconsin in 1856; twice president pro tempore of Wisconsin senate; district attorney for Columbia county in 1864; collector of internal revenue in 1866; United States attorney for the district of Wisconsin in 1869; elected as a Republican to the 42nd and 43rd congresses, 1871-75; resumed the practice of law in Milwaukee, Wis.

William Henry, a representative from Vermont, was born in Charlestown, N. H., March 22, 1788; engaged in manufacturing business in Vermont, New York and Jaffrey, N. H.; moved to Bellows Falls, Vt.; engaged in banking business; member of Vermont legislature, 1834-6; served in the first state senate; director of the Rutland and Burlington railroad company; delegate to the first Whig national convention at Harrisburg, Pa., in 1839; elected as a Whig to the 30th and 31st congresses, 1847-51; presidential elector on the Lincoln and Hamlin ticket in 1860. He died in Chester, Pa., April 1, 1861.

Harry Hibbard, born at Concord, Vermont, June, 1816, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1835 and practiced law at Bath. He was clerk of the State House of Representatives, 1840-43; Speaker of the House, 1844-45; member of the State Senate, 1846-49; representative from New Hampshire in the 31st, 32d and 33d Congresses, 1849-55; died at Bath, July 28, 1872.

John W. Howe, a native of New Hampshire, represented Pennsylvania as a Whig in the 31st and 32nd congresses, 1849-53.

Samuel Hunt was born in Charlestown, July 8, 1765; practiced law in Alstead; member of the state legislature; member

of the 7th and 8th congresses from December 6, 1802, to March 3, 1805. He died in Ohio in 1807.

James H. Johnson, born in New Hampshire, was a resident of Bath. He was a member of the State Senate in 1839, of the State Council in 1842 and 1845; elected to the 29th and 30th Congresses, 1845-49.

Frank Jones was born in Barrington, September 15, 1832; merchant and brewer of Portsmouth; mayor of Portsmouth, 1868-9; elected as a Democrat to the 44th and 45th congresses; defeated as the Democratic candidate for governor of New Hampshire in 1880; joined the Republican party; died in Portsmouth, October 2, 1902.

George Washington Kittredge was born in Epping, January 31, 1805; attended the Harvard Medical College and practiced in Newmarket; member of the state house of representatives three years and speaker in 1852; elected to the 33rd congress, as an anti-Nebraska Democrat; defeated as the Democratic candidate for re-election. He died March 6, 1881.

Ebenezer Knowlton, representative from Maine, was born in Pittsfield, N. H., December 6, 1815; moved to South Montville, Maine; studied theology; member of the Maine house of representatives, 1844-50, and speaker the last year; elected as a Republican to the 34th congress, 1855-57. He died in South Montville, Maine, September 10, 1874.

Luther McKinney, a representative from New Hampshire, was born near Newark, Ohio, April 25, 1841; served as a soldier in the Union army in the Civil War; removed to Iowa in 1865 and engaged in farming; graduated from the St. Lawrence University in 1870; moved to Maine and entered the ministry; moved to New Hampshire in 1873; elected as a Democrat to the 50th congress and re-elected to the 52d congress; minister to Colombia, South America, in 1893-97; member of the Maine state legislature, 1907-08; merchant and clergyman in Bridgton, Me.

Daniel Marcy was born in Portsmouth, November 7, 1809; seaman and shipbuilder; member of both branches of the state legislature; elected as a Democrat to the 38th congress, 1863-65; again state representative and state senator; died in Portsmouth, November 3, 1893.

Henry Lee Maynard, representative from Virginia, was

born in Portsmouth, N. H., June 8, 1861; graduated from the Virginia agricultural and mechanical college in 1880; member of the Virginia house of delegates in 1890; member of the senate in 1894 and 1898; elected as a Democrat to the 57th congress, and to the four succeeding congresses, 1901-11. Residence, Portsmouth, Va.

Richard Shepard Molony, representative from Illinois, was born in Northfield, N. H., June 28, 1811; studied medicine and was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1838; commenced practice in Belvidere, Ill.; elected as a Democrat to the 32d congress, 1851-53; died in Humboldt, Nebr., December 14, 1891.

Orren Cheney Moore was born in New Hampton, August 10, 1839; printer and journalist; established the Nashua *Daily Telegraph* in 1869; served six terms in the lower branch of the legislature and one term in the upper; member of the state tax commission; chairman of the state railroad commission for three years; elected as a Republican to the 51st congress, 1889-91; died in Nashua, May 12, 1893.

George Washington Morrison, representative from New Hampshire, was born in Fairlee, Vermont, October 16, 1809; moved to Manchester, N. H., where he commenced the practice of law in 1836; elected as a Democrat to the 31st congress to fill vacancy caused by the resignation of James Wilson and served 1851-53; elected to the 33rd congress, 1853-55; died in Manchester, December 21, 1888.

Mace Moulton was born in Concord, May 2, 1796; sheriff of Hillsboro county in 1845; state councilor, 1848-9; elected to the 29th congress, 1845-7; died in Manchester, May 5, 1867.

Amasa Norcross, representative from Massachusetts, was born in Rindge, N. H., January 26, 1824; attended the common schools and Appleton Academy; admitted to the bar in 1847; member of both branches of the Massachusetts legislature; assessor of internal revenue, 1862-73; mayor of Fitchburg, Mass., 1873-4; elected as a Republican to the 45th, 46th and 47th congresses, 1877-83; died in Paris, France, April 2, 1898.

Alonzo Nute was born in Milton, February 12, 1826; shoe manufacturer in Farmington; soldier in the Union army; served in both branches of the state legislature; delegate to the national Republican convention in Cincinnati in 1876; elected as a Re-

publican to the 51st congress, 1889-91; died in Farmington, December 24, 1892.

Benjamin Orr, representative from Maine when it was a part of Massachusetts, was born at Bedford, December 1, 1772; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1798; practiced law in Topsham, Maine; moved to Brunswick, Maine; elected to the 15th congress, 1817-19; died in Brunswick, September 5, 1828.

Hosea Washington Parker was born in Lempster, May 30, 1833; began the practice of law in 1859; member of state legislature, 1859-60; moved to Claremont in 1860; delegate to the democratic national convention in 1868; elected as a Democrat to the 42nd and 43rd congresses, 1871-75.

George W. Patterson was born in Londonderry, November 11, 1799; settled in Leicester, N. Y., in 1825, as a farmer and manufacturer of farming implements; eight years a member of the state legislature, two years speaker of the house; moved to Chatauqua, N. Y., in 1841; delegate to the national Republican conventions of 1856 and 1860; elected lieutenant-governor of New York in 1848; elected as a Republican to the 45th congress, 1877-79.

William Patterson, representative from New York, was born in Londonderry, June 4, 1789; in 1815 removed to Rensselaerville, N. Y., and the following year to Lyons; engaged in the manufacture and sale of fanning mills; moved to a farm near Warsaw in 1822; elected as a Whig to the 25th congress and served from March 4, 1837, till his death, in Warsaw, N. Y., August 14, 1838.

Charles Hazen Peaslee was born in Gilmanton, February 6, 1804; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1824; began practice of law at Concord in 1828; member of state legislature, 1833-7; adjutant general of the militia; elected as a Democrat to the 30th, 31st and 32nd congresses; collector of the port of Boston, 1853-7. He died at St. Paul, Minn., September 20, 1866.

Bishop Perkins, a native of New Hampshire, moved to Ogdensburg, N. Y., and was elected as a Democrat to the 33rd congress, 1853-5.

Jared Perkins was born in Unity, July 1, 1819; studied theology and was a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church and a presiding elder; state councilor, 1846-9; member of the state house of representatives; elected as a Whig to the 32nd

congress, 1851-3; defeated for re-election to the 33rd congress; died in Nashua, October 14, 1854.

John J. Perry, representative from Maine, was born in Portsmouth, August 2, 1811; began practice of law in Oxford, Maine; member of both branches of the Maine legislature; elected as a Republican to the 34th congress, 1855-7, and re-elected to the 36th congress, 1859-61; delegate to the peace congress in 1861; edited the *Oxford Democrat*; moved to Portland and died there, May 2, 1897.

Joseph Pierce attended school at Amherst and served in the Revolution. He represented New Hampshire in the 7th congress from March 4, 1801, till 1802, when he resigned. He died in Strafford county in 1828.

James Pike, representative from New Hampshire, was born in Salisbury, Mass., November 10, 1819; graduated from Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.; minister of the Methodist Episcopal church, 1841-54; moved to New Hampshire; elected as an American to the 34th and 35th congresses, 1855-59; colonel of the 16th N. H. Infantry, 1862-3; resumed preaching and became presiding elder of the Dover district; died in Newfields, July 26, 1895.

Harris Merrill Plaisted, representative from Maine, was born in Jefferson, N. H., November 2, 1828; graduated from Waterville College in 1853; began practice of law in Bangor, Maine, in 1856; served in the Union army; colonel, brigadier-general and major-general, "for gallant and meritorious service during the war"; member of Maine legislature, 1867-8; attorney-general of Maine, 1873-5; elected as a Republican to the 44th congress to fill a vacancy; governor of Maine, 1881-2; died in Bangor, Maine, January 31, 1898.

William Plumer Jr. was born in Epping, October 9, 1789; graduated from Harvard in 1809; admitted to the bar but never practiced; United States commissioner of loans, 1816-17; served several years in both branches of the state legislature; elected as a Democrat to the 16th, 17th and 18th congresses, 1821-7; member of the constitutional convention of 1850; died in Epping, September 18, 1854. He wrote the biography of his father, Gov. William Plumer.

Henry Kirke Porter, representative from Pennsylvania, was born in Concord, November 24, 1840; educated at New London

Academy and Brown University; studied theology in Newton Theological Seminary and Rochester Theological Seminary; served in the Civil War in a Massachusetts regiment; began business in Pittsburg, Pa., in 1866; vice-president of the Pittsburg chamber of commerce; elected to the 58th congress, 1903-5.

Samuel Leland Powers, representative from Massachusetts, was born in Cornish, N. H., October 26, 1848; educated at Kimball Union Academy, Phillips Exeter Academy, and Dartmouth College; studied law in the University of the city of New York and in Worcester, Mass.; admitted to the bar in 1876 and practiced law in Boston; located at Newton, Mass.; elected as a Republican to the 57th, 58th and 59th congresses, 1901-7.

Ossian Ray, representative from New Hampshire, was born in Hinesberg, Vermont, December 13, 1835; studied law and moved to Lancaster, N. H., in 1854; member of the state legislature in 1858-9; solicitor for Coos county, 1862-72; United States attorney for the district of New Hampshire, 1879-80; elected to 46th, 47th and 48th congresses as a Republican, serving 1881-5; died in Lancaster, January 28, 1892.

John Randall Reding was born in Portsmouth, October 18, 1805; practiced law in Haverhill, N. H.; elected as a Democrat to the 27th and 28th congresses, 1841-45; naval storekeeper at Portsmouth, 1853-58; mayor of Portsmouth; served in the state house of representatives; died in Portsmouth, October 8, 1892.

Edward C. Reed, representative from New York, was born in Fitzwilliam, N. H., March 8, 1793; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1812; practiced law in Homer, N. Y.; elected as a Democrat to the 22nd congress, 1831-33.

William Merchant Richardson, representative from Massachusetts, was born in Pelham, N. H., January 4, 1774; graduated from Harvard College in 1797; practiced law in Groton, Mass.; elected as a Federalist to the 12th and 13th congresses, serving 1811-14; resigned and moved to Portsmouth, N. H.; United States attorney in 1814; appointed chief justice of New Hampshire in 1816; died in Chester, March 23, 1838.

Eleazer Wheelock Ripley was born in Hanover, April 15, 1782; graduated from Dartmouth in 1800; practiced law at Waterville, Maine; member of the Massachusetts house of representatives in 1807 and 1811; moved to Portland, Me.; state senator; served as colonel, brigadier-general and brevet major-

general in the War of 1812; congress presented him with a gold medal in 1814 for meritorious conduct; resigned position in the army and located in Jackson, La.; member of the Louisiana state senate; elected as a Democrat to the 24th and 25th congresses, 1835-39; died in West Feliciana, La., March 29, 1839.

Jonathan Harvey Rowell was born in Haverhill, February 10, 1833; graduated from Eureka College, Ill., and the law department of the University of Chicago; practiced law at Bloomington, Ill.; state attorney of the eighth judicial district of Illinois, 1868-72; presidential elector on the Garfield ticket in 1880; served three years as a company officer in the 17th Illinois infantry; elected as a Republican to the 48th, 49th, 50th and 51st congresses, 1885-91; resumed the practice of law; died in Bloomington, Ill., May 15, 1908.

Lorenzo Sabine, representative from Massachusetts, was born in Lisbon, N. H., February 28, 1803; banker and merchant in Eastport, Maine; member of the state house of representatives three terms; deputy collector of customs; moved to Massachusetts in 1849; elected as a Whig to the 32nd congress, to fill a vacancy and served a few months in 1853; located in Boston, where he died, April 14, 1877.

Samuel Locke Sawyer, representative from Missouri, was born in Mont Vernon, N. H., November 27, 1813; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1833; admitted to the bar in Amherst in 1836; settled in Lexington, Mo., in 1838; circuit attorney of the sixth judicial district of Missouri in 1848 and again in 1852; elected judge of the 24th judicial circuit in 1871 and 1874; elected as a Democrat to the 46th congress, 1879-81; died in Independence, Mo., April 1, 1890.

Tristram Shaw was born in Exeter May 23, 1776; elected to the 26th and 27th congresses, 1839-43; died at Exeter, March 14, 1843.

George Abel Simmons, representative from New York, was born in Lyme, September 8, 1791; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1816; practiced law in Keeserville, N. Y.; elected as Whig to the 33rd and 34th congresses, 1853-57; died in Keeserville, N. Y., October 28, 1857.

William Bradbury Small was born in Limington, Maine, May 17, 1817; educated in common schools and Phillips Exeter Academy; practiced law in Newmarket, N. H.; solicitor of

Rockingham county; member of both branches of state legislature; elected as a Republican to the 43rd congress, 1873-75; died in Newmarket, April 7, 1878.

Francis Orman Jefferson Smith, representative from Maine, was born in Brentwood, November 23, 1806; practiced law in Portland, Me.; served in both branches of the Maine legislature and as president of the senate; elected as a Democrat to the 23rd, 24th and 25th congresses, 1833-39; assisted Prof. Morse in perfecting and introducing the electric telegraph; died in Deering, Maine, October 14, 1876.

George L. Smith, representative from Louisiana, was born in Hillsboro county, N. H., December 11, 1840; served in the Union army; engaged in mercantile pursuits in Louisiana, and in newspaper work; elected as a Democrat to the 43rd congress, to fill a vacancy and served from December 3, 1873, till March 3, 1875.

Jedediah Kilburn Smith was born in Amherst, November 7, 1770; lawyer; member of the state senate, 1804-6 and 1809; elected to the 10th congress, 1807-9; councilor, 1810-15; associate justice of the court of common pleas, 1816-21; and of the court of sessions, 1821-23; chief justice of the court of sessions, 1823-25. He died in Amherst, December 17, 1828.

Robert Smith, representative from Illinois, was born in Peterboro, N. H., June 12, 1802; farmer; moved to Illinois and located in Alton; member of the state house of representatives, 1836-40; elected as a Democrat to the 28th, 29th and 30th congresses, 1843-49; re-elected to the 35th congress, 1857-59; died in Alton, Ill., December 21, 1867.

Samuel Smith was born in Peterboro, November 11, 1765; wall paper manufacturer; elected to the 13th congress, 1813-15; died in Peterboro, April 25, 1842.

Daniel E. Somes, representative from Maine, was born in New Hampshire; moved to Biddeford, Me., and engaged in manufacturing; mayor of Biddeford, 1855-7; president of the City Bank; elected as a Republican to the 36th congress, 1859-61.

Oliver Lyman Spaulding, representative from Michigan, was born in Jaffrey, August 2, 1833; graduated from Oberlin College in 1855; moved to Michigan and taught school; practiced law in St. Johns, Michigan; regent of the University of Michigan; served in the Union army as captain, colonel, and

brevet brigadier-general of volunteers; secretary of state of Michigan, 1866-70; special agent of United States Treasury Department, 1875-81; elected as a Republican to the 47th congress, 1881-83; chairman of commission sent to the Sandwich Islands; assistant secretary of the treasury, 1890-93; president of the first congress of American Republics, held in New York city, January, 1903; special agent of United States Treasury, with residence in Washington, D. C.

Edwin Obed Stanard, representative from Missouri, was born in Newport, N. H., January 5, 1832; moved with his parents to the territory of Iowa; taught school in Illinois; graduated from a commercial college in St. Louis; engaged in milling business in St. Louis; lieutenant-governor of Missouri two years; elected as a Republican to the 43rd congress, 1873-75; engaged in the manufacture of flour in St. Louis, Mo.

Charles Stetson, representative from Maine, was born in New Ipswich, N. H., November 2, 1801; moved to Hampden, Maine; educated at Hampden Academy and Yale College, 1823; practiced law in Hampden; moved to Bangor and was judge of the municipal court, 1834-9; member of the state executive council, 1845-48; elected as a Democrat to the 31st congress, 1849-51; died in Bangor, Maine, March 27, 1883.

Aaron Fletcher Stevens was born in Derry, August 9, 1819; lawyer; served four terms in the state legislature; served in the Union army as major and brevet brigadier-general; elected as a Republican to the 40th and 41st congresses, 1867-71; again served several terms in the state legislature; died in Nashua, May 10, 1887.

Bradford Newcomb Stevens, representative from Illinois, was born in Boscawen, January 3, 1813; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1835; taught school six years; moved to Bureau county, Ill., in 1846; merchant and farmer; elected as an independent Democrat to the 42nd congress, 1871-73; died in Tiskilwa, Ill., November 10, 1885.

George Sullivan, son of General John Sullivan, was born in Durham, August 29, 1771; graduated from Harvard College in 1790; practiced law in Exeter; member of the state house of representatives in 1805; attorney-general of New Hampshire, 1805-6; elected to the 12th congress, 1811-13; again a member of the state house of representatives in 1813; member of the

state senate, 1814-15; again attorney-general of the state, 1816-35; died at Exeter, April 14, 1838.

James Sullivan was born in what is now the town of Rollinsford, N. H., not in Berwick as has been often misstated, April 22, 1744; practiced law in Biddeford, Maine; member of the provincial congress of Massachusetts, in 1775; judge of the superior court in 1776; elected to the continental congress in 1782; judge of probate for Suffolk county; attorney-general of Massachusetts, 1790-1807; governor of Massachusetts, 1807-8; died in Boston, Mass., December 10, 1808.

Cyrus Adams Sulloway was born in Grafton, June 8, 1839; educated in the common schools and Kimball Union Academy; studied law in Franklin and was admitted to the bar; practiced law at Manchester; member of the state house of representatives, 1872-3, and again in 1887-93; elected as a Republican to the 54th congress, and to the eight succeeding congresses.

Mason Weare Tappan was born in Newport, October 20, 1817; attended Kimball Union Academy; practiced law in Bradford, N. H., from 1841; served in the state house of representatives, 1853-5; elected as a Republican to the 34th, 35th and 36th congresses, 1855-61; served as colonel in the Union army; again a member of the state legislature, 1860-61; attorney-general of the state in 1876 till his death, in Bradford, October 26, 1886.

Amos Tuck was born at Parsonsfield, Maine, August 2, 1810; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1835; practiced law in Exeter; elected as an Independent to the 30th, 31st and 32nd congresses, 1847-53; delegate to the Republican national convention in 1856 and 1860; delegate to the peace congress in 1861; defeated for the 33rd congress; appointed naval officer for the port of Boston by President Lincoln; trustee of Phillips Exeter Academy thirty years and of Dartmouth College ten years, and president of the trustees of Robinson Female Seminary, in which he was deeply interested; one of the leaders in the anti-slavery agitation in New Hampshire. He died in Exeter, December 11, 1879. His name and good deeds are repeatedly mentioned in this history. In politics and private and professional life he was always on the side of honesty, liberty and human brotherhood.

Charles Henry Turner, representative from New York, was born in Wentworth, N. H., May 26, 1861; moved to New York



AMOS TUCK

city in 1879; two years a student in Columbia College; engaged in the ice business; elected as a Democrat to the 51st congress, to fill a vacancy, and served 1889-91; resumed the practice of law in Washington, D. C.

George Baxter Upham, representative from New Hampshire, was born in Brookfield, Mass., December 9, 1769; graduated from Harvard College in 1789; member of the state house of representatives and served two years as speaker; elected to the 7th congress, 1801-3; died in Claremont, February 10, 1848.

Nathaniel Upham was born in Deerfield, June 9, 1774; member of the state house of representatives; elected as a Democrat to the 15th, 16th and 17th congresses, 1817-23; died in Rochester, July 10, 1829.

Charles Christopher Brainerd Walker, representative from New York, was born in Drewsville, a village in the town of Walpole, N. H., June 27, 1824; moved to Corning, N. Y., in 1848; postmaster there 1856-60; elected as a Democrat to the 44th congress, 1875-77; died in Corning, N. Y., January 26, 1888.

William A. Walker, representative from New York, was born in New Hampshire in 1804; moved to New York City; held several local offices; elected as a Democrat to the 33d congress, 1853-55; died in New York City, December 18, 1861.

Rodney Wallace, representative from Massachusetts, was born in New Ipswich, N. H., December 21, 1823; engaged in the manufacture of paper; selectman of Fitchburg, Mass., for three years; representative in the general court of Massachusetts in 1873; councilor of state in 1880-82; elected as a Republican to the 51st congress, 1889-91; died in Fitchburg, Mass., February 27, 1903.

John Wingate Weeks was born in Greenland, March 31, 1778; captain in the War of 1812; promoted to rank of major; held several offices in Coos county; elected to the 21st and 22nd congresses, 1829-33; died in Lancaster, April 3, 1853.

Joseph Weeks was a native of Massachusetts and moved to Richmond, N. H. He was elected as a Democrat to the 24th and 25th congresses, 1835-39.

John Wentworth, Jr., was born in Salmon Falls, N. H., July 17, 1745; graduated from Harvard College in 1768; practiced law in Dover; member of the state house of representatives, 1776-80; delegate in the continental congress, 1778-79; one

of signers of the articles of confederation; member of the state council, 1780-84; died in Dover, January 10, 1787.

John Wentworth, representative from Illinois, was born in Sandwich, N. H., March 5, 1815; moved with parents to Dover in 1819; graduated from Dartmouth College in 1836; moved to Chicago and engaged in newspaper work; attended the Harvard Law School and was admitted to the Illinois bar in 1841; elected as a Democrat to the 28th, 29th, 30th and 31st congresses, 1843-51; re-elected to the 33rd congress, 1853-55; mayor of Chicago as a Republican, 1857-63; elected as a Republican to the 39th congress, 1865-67; died in Chicago, October 16, 1888. He was known as "Long John Wentworth" and compiled the Wentworth Genealogy in three volumes full of genealogical and historical detail. It is said that this work cost him \$30,000.

Tappan Wentworth, representative from Massachusetts, was born in Dover, N. H., February 24, 1802; began practice of law in Great Falls, in 1824; moved to Lowell, Mass., in 1833, served several years in both branches of Massachusetts legislature; elected as a Whig to the 33rd congress, 1853-55; defeated for re-election; died in Lowell, Mass., June 12, 1875.

John O. Whitehouse, representative from New York, was born in Rochester, N. H., July 19, 1817; moved to Brooklyn, N. Y.; merchant and manufacturer; elected as a Liberal to the 43d and 44th congresses, 1875-79.

Elias Whittemore, representative from New York, was born in Pembroke, N. H., March 2, 1772; moved to New York; elected to the 19th congress, 1825-27; died December 26, 1853, in Windsor, N. Y.

James Wilson was born in Peterboro, August 16, 1766; graduated from Harvard College in 1789; practiced law in Keene; was several times a member of the state legislature; elected as a Federalist to the 11th congress, 1809-11; died in Keene, January 4, 1839.

John Wilson, representative from Massachusetts, was born in Peterboro, N. H., January 10, 1777; graduated from Harvard College in 1799; began the practice of law in Belfast, Maine; elected as a Federalist to the 13th congress, 1813-15; re-elected to the 15th congress, 1817-19; died in Belfast, Maine, August 9, 1848.

William Wilson, representative from Ohio, was born in

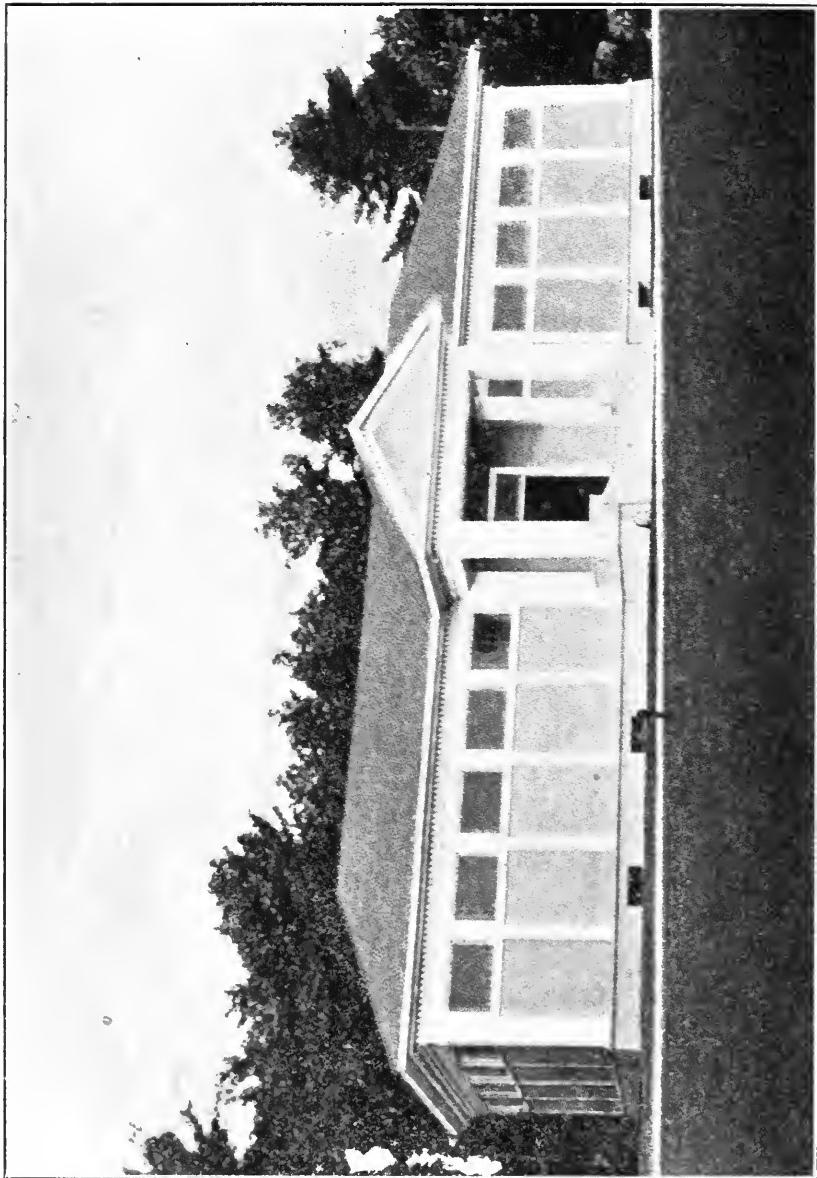
Hillsboro county, N. H.; moved to Ohio; elected to the 18th and 19th congresses, 1823-27; died in Newark, Ohio, May 29, 1827.

Samuel Thomas Worcester, representative from Ohio, was born in Hollis, N. H., August 30, 1804; graduated from Cambridge University in 1830; began the practice of law in Norwalk, Ohio; member of the state senate; judge of the court of common pleas, 1859-60; elected as a Republican to the 37th congress, 1861-63; died in Nashua, N. H., December 6, 1882.

Timothy Roberts Young, representative from Illinois, was born in Dover, N. H., November 19, 1811; educated at Phillips Exeter Academy and Bowdoin College, where he graduated in 1835; studied law in Dover and admitted to the bar; moved to Marshall, Ill., in 1838 and practiced law ten years; elected as a Democrat to the 31st congress, 1849-51; engaged in agriculture and trade; died at Oilfield, near Casey, Ill., May 12, 1898.

Chapter XIX

ORGANIZATION OF CITIES



LIBBY MUSEUM, WOLFEBORO, N. H. ERECTED 1912

Chapter XIX

ORGANIZATION OF CITIES

THE eleven cities of New Hampshire are of recent origin. Railroads and factories increased the population of some places till the old-fashioned town meeting, so well adapted to small towns and so harmonious with the spirit of democracy, became unsuited to pressing needs. Some towns of limited population felt that a city charter would add to their dignity and importance, thus attracting capital and leading to the development of natural resources. Tradition says that Senator Charles G. Atherton first urged that Nashua be made a city because he preferred to be known in Washington as coming from a city rather than from a town. Cities attract and country towns repel. Cities are expected to grow and small towns shrink. Cities have a supply of water, are lighted and furnish amusements and societies. Change a big town into a city, and at once it begins to expand and attract. Nearly every city that has been planned, and even before it was chartered, has had its boom. Fields and pastures for miles around have been staked out into house-lots, and inflated prices only increased the number of purchasers. Small investors began to speculate in future possibilities. Capitalists bought up the most promising sites and obliged the toilers to pay big prices for small house-lots or high rent for poor places to live in.

In the organization of the earlier cities of New Hampshire the idea of government prevailed that had existed long in states and nations. There was the same system of checks on the will of the people. There must be the mayor with his power of veto, and a board of aldermen to correspond to a senate, and a larger board of councilmen to deliberate as a house of representatives. Sometimes it required as much argument and log-rolling to get a necessary rule of conduct established in a city as to get a bill with its rider through congress. The government of a large city by a very few commissioners was not thought of in New Hamp-

shire. To entrust the government of a city to one expert business manager, who should appoint his subordinates, a generation ago would have been considered the height of folly and misrule. In order to have self-government many think they must have a chance to talk, agitate and vote on every debatable question. Such think that wisdom resides with a multitude of counselors. Such government costs more and accomplishes less, but it distributes power and honor.

A city with large boards of aldermen and councilmen is better suited to the wishes and plans of political bosses. They can manage large boards more easily than they can the expert manager or the commission of three or five. There is more chance for graft. Large boards contain the needed few who can be induced to vote right, in the judgment of political and business schemers. Those who are seeking for monopolies in the introduction of public utilities rely upon the use of graft to secure desired concessions. The government of American cities has become a reproach and an oppression. The bigger the city, the more its many officials have to be watched.

Nearly all the business of a city has nothing to do with politics, yet the political leaders seek to divide the population in every local issue into Democrats and Republicans. The cities and towns must be politically divided in order to control the states and the nation. The political machine breaks down, if party lines are often transgressed in local elections. Hence in choice of mayor and local boards the question forced upon the attention of the voters is not, whether the candidate is the best business manager and the most trustworthy person, but is he a Republican or a Democrat. Revolts against this regime more and more frequently appear in the nomination of coalition candidates on a Citizen's Ticket. To break away from an old organization, to do one's own thinking and to vote independently, even in a local election, is more than can be expected of those who have long been driven by the party whip. Never to scratch a political ticket is the proud purpose and boast of many.

Such matters probably were not considered, however, in the chartering of cities in New Hampshire. The custom of many generations was followed without asking any questions as to its utility and reasonableness. Experience and the leadership of

new and distant places are raising the question, whether the method of city government copied from old English law and custom is the best one for recent American cities.

Manchester was the first booming city, built like a western town almost in a day. It was all staked out before the charter was obtained in 1846. The development of the largest water power in the State, on Amoskeag falls, insured future growth. The Namaskee Mills, The Langdon Mills, the Stark Mills, the Manchester Print Works, the Manchester Locomotive Works, the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company are some of the leading industries. The city has nine wards, like Nashua and Concord. The population was only about ten thousand at the beginning, but it grew to seventy thousand at the last census and is now estimated at eighty-five thousand, only one-fifth being of native stock. The largest element of the population is French Canadian, but the political leaders have been natives of the soil. They seem to have known how to use the mixed population, and the large ballot thrown by Manchester may account in part for the fact that it has been the home of so many governors, as Moody Currier, Frederick Smyth, Person C. Cheney, Ezekiel A. Straw, James A. Weston and Charles M. Floyd. Here also lived senators Daniel Clark and Samuel N. Bell, as well as congressmen George W. Morrison and Cyrus A. Sulloway, if it is proper to speak of the last as *passé*. In the early days small towns like Durham, Kingston and Hillsborough furnished governors; now political aspirants move into a city and "go through the chairs," as they say in some fraternities and sororities.

Manchester employs twenty thousand of its population in the textile industries and ten thousand in the manufacture of boots and shoes. The Manchester Traction, Light and Power Company furnishes electricity to private persons and corporations, as well as for municipal purposes. Electric cars connect with Concord, Nashua, Derry, Goffstown and Auburn. The water supply comes from Lake Massabesic, only four miles away, and the system of water works cost nine million dollars. There are two hundred and ten miles of streets. Manchester is the seventh city in the United States in the production of boots and shoes. She makes more brushes than any other city in the world. Two millions of baseball bats are turned out annually, and sev-

enty-five thousand automatic knitting machines are made. The estimated wealth of Manchester is \$150,000,000, and the annual pay-roll is \$12,000,000. Among the public institutions are fifty churches, eleven banks, the Carpenter Memorial Library containing seventy thousand books, the free Institute of Arts and Sciences, three hospitals, a Masonic Home, a Home for the Aged, several orphanages, the State Reform School, a large armory and eleven theaters. The leading newspaper of the State is the *Manchester Union*. St. Anselm's College is located on the border of the city, in Goffstown. There are three business colleges. The railroad connections are unsurpassed.

The city of Portsmouth received its charter in 1849. It then had three wards, since increased to five, a mayor, seven aldermen and twenty-one in the common council. The three wards had some town privileges and could elect their own moderator, selectmen and town clerk. The growth of the city has not been what was hoped, the present population being a little above eleven thousand. Portsmouth once was a seaport of considerable importance, but the building of railroads sent shipping to Boston. Shipbuilding has declined to zero. The boast of Portsmouth is her old traditions and houses. The manufacture of beer and ale keeps some alive and kills others. A big paper mill in the northern part of the city attracts attention and should have many operatives. Portsmouth has a fine court house, sharing with Exeter the legal and judicial business of Rockingham county. Its churches and schools are a credit to the city. The old Portsmouth Academy, built in the year 1809, was remodeled in 1896 and made the Portsmouth Public Library. The Athenaeum was built over a century ago for the use of the Fire and Marine Insurance Company. In 1817 the Proprietors of the Portsmouth Athenaeum were incorporated as owners and directors of a private library. The reading room, remodeled in 1893, contains portraits of Sir William Pepperrell, Sir Peter Warren and other celebrities. The growing library of the Pascataqua Pioneers, a historical society that welcomes the descendants of all the early settlers of the original four towns of New Hampshire, is stored in the Public Library for the present.

Some of the prominent citizens of the city of Portsmouth in recent years have been Governor Ichabod Goodwin, William



FIRST WENTWORTH HOUSE, 1670; PORTSMOUTH



GOV. JOHN LANGDON HOUSE, 1784; PORTSMOUTH



GOV. ICHABOD GOODWIN HOUSE, 1811; PORTSMOUTH



GOV. JOHN WENTWORTH HOUSE, 1769; PORTSMOUTH

H. Y. Hackett, and Calvin Page. Those who have made themselves well known in the world of letters have been named in the chapter on the literature of New Hampshire.

Among the colonial houses that visitors like to see are the residences of the Wentworths, of Gov. John Langdon, where Louis Philippe and his brothers were entertained in 1780, the Warner House, once thought to be the finest in the old town, the birthplace of Thomas B. Aldrich, and the Whipple House, the residence of Gen. William Whipple, who signed the Declaration of Independence. This last was built in 1783. The old State House, built on a ledge of rocks in the midst of Market Square, formerly called the Parade, was erected in 1758 and removed in 1837. Part of it is still used as a dwelling, at number 47 Court Street. Portsmouth has three daily newspapers and three weeklies.

Nashua became a city in the year 1852 by a union of Nashua and Nashville. It is a part of the old town of Dunstable. It has large water power and is a railroad center. At the beginning it had a population of 8,942, which has grown to about thirty thousand. Its manufactures are extensive, including cotton and woolen goods, boots and shoes, machinery for the production of paper from wood pulp, and products of small factories. The manufacture of refrigerators and freezers is a specialty. Nashua has some fine buildings, notably a Masonic Temple, erected at a cost of eighty-seven thousand dollars, and the Odd Fellows' Building, which cost one hundred thousand dollars. The county court house is a beautiful structure of granite. The Public Library was built by a gift of fifty thousand dollars by John M. Hunt; his widow, Mary A. Hunt, built the Home for Aged Couples and endowed it with eighty-eight thousand dollars. Other evidences of wealth, patriotism and social service are the Highland Spring Sanatorium, the Soldiers' Monument, an emergency hospital and many beautiful churches. Nashua has good hotels, an abundant supply of pure water, and all the comforts and conveniences that modern city life demands. Its future growth is well assured.

Among the leading men in the history of the city have been Gen. George Stark, Senator Charles G. Atherton, Gen. Aaron F. Stevens, Judge Edward E. Parker, Gen. John G. Foster and Gov. George A. Ramsdell. Its first mayor was Josephus Baldwin.

The charter for the city of Dover was granted June 27, 1855. It contains perhaps a sixth part of the ancient township. The city government was inaugurated March 25, 1856, and Andrew Pierce was the first mayor. It has five wards and the population at the last census was somewhat above thirteen thousand, probably now increased to over fifteen thousand. Its water power has made the city. Mills on the Cochecho and Bellamy rivers date back to earliest times. The Cochecho Manufacturing Company, that did business here many years, went out of business in 1909 and the plant was bought by the Pacific Mills Company of Lawrence, Mass. This company carries on the manufacture of cotton goods as a branch or department of their larger work in Lawrence.

Mention has been made in a former chapter of the woolen industry established by Alfred Sawyer. The Sawyer Woolen Mills went out of business in 1899 and the American Woolen Company bought the plant and developed it on the Bellamy river falls. The Pacific Mills Company owns all the falls on the Cochecho up as far as Rochester. The industry of next greatest importance is that of the I. B. Williams and Sons Belting Company, which now claims to be a larger concern than that of the Page Belting Company of Concord, and its products are distributed throughout the world.

The county court house, a fine building, stands on the site, or near it, of the old garrison house of Major Waldron. The old William Dam garrison house, once called the Drew garrison, has been removed from Back river to the city proper and converted into a museum of local antiques. Dover has placed markers on all the spots of historic interest, and this work has been fostered by the historical Society named after the old name of Dover, the Northam Colonists.

Men of political prominence lived here in times past, such as Senator John P. Hale, Congressman Daniel M. Durell, Daniel M. Christie, Governor Noah Martin, Thomas E. Sawyer, who was second mayor and whig candidate for governor in 1851 and 1852, Charles Henry Sawyer, who was governor of the State in 1886. Other prominent men are Hon. Daniel Hall, Elisha R. Brown, president of Strafford National Bank, John Williams, Moses Paul and Judge Robert E. Pike.

The public institutions include the Wentworth Hospital, the Hayes Hospital, the Wentworth home for the aged, founded in 1885 and endowed by Arioch Wentworth in 1898 by a donation of thirty thousand dollars, the Dover Children's Home built in 1897, and a Public Library. The City Hall is a noble brick structure with spacious grounds in its vicinity. Trolley lines connect Dover with Portsmouth, Rochester, Somersworth, South Berwick and York, Maine.

Formerly the *Star*, organ of the Free Baptists, was published at Dover. The leading journal now is Foster's *Daily Democrat*, founded in 1873.

A part of ancient Dover was made into the parish of Somersworth in 1729 and became a township in 1754. It included what is now the town of Rollinsford, which was set off from Somersworth in 1850. Rollinsford Junction was the center of the town of Somersworth. Here stood the meeting house and near by lived the Rev. James Pike who officiated in this parish from 1730 to 1790. Here the father of Governors John and James Sullivan taught school, either in the meeting house or in a school house not far away, and here Hercules Mooney had taught before him. Tradition says that George Whitefield was entertained by the Rev. James Pike, while on his tour of evangelization. Joseph Tate also taught here many years and left a genealogical record of this region, which is now often consulted. The prominent men of this town in the olden times were Paul Wentworth, Hon. John Wentworth, who was representative, colonel and judge, Col. Thomas Wallingford, Ichabod Rollins, Captain James Hobbs and Dr. Moses Carr.

In the northeastern part of Somersworth, on the Salmon Falls river, water ran to waste for many years. Saw mills and grist mills were in operation after 1755. In 1822 Isaac Wendell visited the place and saw the water descending one hundred feet within less than a mile. He purchased all the water power, mills and adjacent land, erected a blacksmith shop and made most of his machinery, built a wooden mill, cut a canal a quarter of a mile long, built a second mill of brick and organized a company with a capital of one million dollars. Then he sold out to stockholders at his own price, continued to act as general agent and business manager and built two more mills. He discovered

something that others could not see, bought it for a little and sold it for much. His woolen mills were in full operation in 1826, weaving carpets and broadcloth. In 1835 machinery for weaving cotton had taken the place of old machinery, and the cotton industry has been the leading one of Great Falls until today. Thus the center of population was shifted from what is now Rollinsford Junction to Great Falls, where the town voted to build its Town House in 1845, at a cost of four thousand dollars. Rebellion arose in the southern part of the town and the legislature heeded their petition to be made a separate town. They left the business and the name of Somersworth to Great Falls and took the name Rollinsford in honor, as some say, of the Rollins and Wallingford families. Others claim all the honor for the Rollins family. Old Somersworth has the distinction of having established the first High School in New Hampshire, on Prospect Hill, in 1849, at an expense of ten thousand dollars. The roundabout view from this point is the foundation of a good education.

The city of Somersworth was chartered in 1893, and immediately the former name of Great Falls, by which the business center was known for many years, dropped out of mind and speech, and the city of Somersworth took its place. Franklin N. Chase was its first mayor. It had a population in 1910 of nearly eight thousand, and Berwick, just across the river in Maine, is a thriving suburb. Somersworth has cotton and woolen mills, a shoe factory, and its own newspaper, the *Somersworth Free Press*. Its leading men in the past have been Daniel G. Rollins, Nathaniel Wells, Oliver H. Lord, David Buffum, Micajah Burleigh, and later Christopher H. Wells, Edgar I. Carter, B. F. Hanson, Hon. Sidney F. Stevens, Hon. William D. Knapp, and Hon. James A. Edgerly.

Rochester was the seventh city to be chartered. Its city government was organized January 6, 1892, and the population has grown to about ten thousand. The town was incorporated in 1722 and adjoined Dover on the north. The first settlements were on a hilltop, about two miles from the present city proper, whence in every direction a broad view greeted the eye. Many of the original settlers came from Dover, and Timothy Roberts was one of the first. The site of the first settlement is known

as Haven's Hill. Here stood the first church, and the burial-ground near by, with its few lettered headstones, tells a tale of interest to historians and genealogists. Low mounds and rude granite stones tell the resting places of unknown and heroic pioneers, who fought against Indians and to keep the wolf from the door in two stern meanings of that phrase. Truly the workman dies and his work goes on. On this hill was the Wolfe tavern, where recruiting was done for the Revolutionary army. An old garrison house is now part of a dwelling.

A new parish was formed and a new meeting house was built in 1780, on what was called Norway Plains, and thus the present city was founded. The meeting house, removed and remodeled, still serves the Congregational church.

Saw mills and grist mills were built on the Salmon Falls and Cochecho rivers at an early date. A fulling mill was set up by Jabez Dame and Col. John McDuffee in 1788. The woolen industry was started in 1811 by Eliphalet Horne, who introduced a carding machine. Today there are three large corporations for the manufacture of woolen goods. One of these is at the village of Gonic, or West Rochester, two miles distant from the main village. This dates from 1838. The Cochecho Woolen Manufacturing Company has its plant at East Rochester. Their mills were started by John Hall in 1862.

The manufacture of boots and shoes is, however, the leading industry of Rochester. Started in 1858 by the Wallace firm the company has grown to have two large brick factories and their tannery covers acres of ground. Many hundred workmen are employed in this industry. There are also two large shoe factories at East Rochester, and several other buildings have been erected by private capital to carry on business in leather.

Another important industry is the manufacture of brick. Two yards have been in operation for more than a century, and at Gonic there are a dozen brick yards, with an annual output of over thirty million brick. There are also several small factories for workers in wood.

The celebrities in the history of Rochester have been its natives, John P. Hale, Jacob H. Ela, Thomas C. Upham, and Daniel Lothrop, all of whom have been duly noticed in this history. Others worthy of mention are Dr. James Farrington

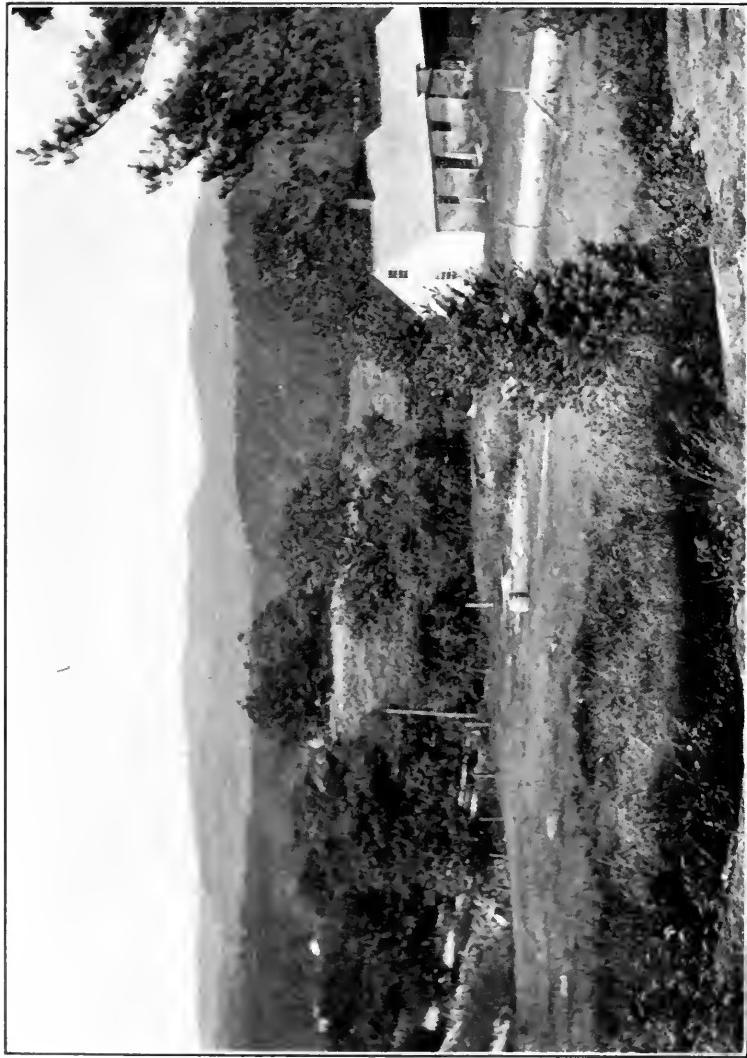
and David Barker, members of congress, Isaac and Seth Adams, manufacturers of the celebrated printing presses, of which the former was the inventor, and Jonathan P. Cushing, president of Hampden Sidney College in Virginia. Rochester has supplied two governors for the State, Samuel D. Felker and Rolland H. Spaulding. Its first mayor was the Hon. Charles S. Whitehouse.

The annual Rochester Fair attracts great throngs of people. Four railroads connect the city with the world at large. It is a business and trading center for neighboring towns of New Hampshire and of Maine.

Laconia was incorporated as a township in 1855. It then included the portion north of the Winnipesaukee river and was set off from the town of Meredith. It had been known as Meredith Bridge. The portion of Laconia on the south and east sides of the river belonged before 1855 to the town of Gilford, which previous to 1813 was included within the limits of the old town of Gilmanton. The part of Laconia south of the river was cut off from Gilford and annexed to Laconia in 1874, and when the city charter was granted in 1893, Lakeport also was taken from Gilford to form a part of the new city. The population at the last census was a little above ten thousand, and the city is divided into six wards. The first mayor was Charles A. Busiel.

For a long time the place prospered financially because of its manufacture of cotton and woolen goods and hosiery. Since 1850 the leading industry has been that of the car shops, started under the name of the Ranlet Car Company. The Laconia Car Company was organized in 1898, and its products are well known throughout the nation. In the organization of the city government Laconia managed to do without any aldermen, judging that a mayor and fourteen councilmen, a clerk, treasurer, solicitor, board of assessors, collector of taxes, superintendent of sewers and street commissioner, overseers of the poor, city physician and board of health were enough for a city of about six thousand inhabitants. The population increased to over ten thousand at the time of the last census, and probably now numbers more than twelve thousand.

Laconia has two public libraries with ten thousand or more books, a hospital founded by a gift of ten thousand dollars from



FIRST FRAME HOUSE IN PEMIGEWASSET VALLEY

Built about 1790

Mrs. Rhoda C. Ladd, thirteen churches and buildings representing a dozen fraternities. Its water supply is pumped from Lake Winnepeaukee and its sewer system was installed at an expense of \$120,000. An electric railway connects the two ends of the city, Lakeport and Laconia, and extends to the Weirs. The last named place was known as a famous fishing place in the time of the redmen, and more recently the Methodists fished for men here at their annual camp meeting. There is fishing still of both sorts, but the methods have changed. A beautiful grove is filled with handsome cottages. Here are the headquarters of the New Hampshire Veterans' Association. The Weirs has become a great summer resort for many associations, religious, musical and patriotic.

Laconia has furnished two governors, Charles A. Busiel and Henry B. Quinby, both very actively engaged in the business enterprises of that city. Benjamin J. Cole did as much as any other to found and develop the business of Laconia.

The township of Franklin was incorporated in 1828, made up of slices cut from Andover, Salisbury, Sanbornton and Northfield. It lies at the junction of the Winnepeaukee and Pemigewasset rivers. The earliest village sprung up in the part of the town taken from Salisbury, about the garrison house of Philip Call, and was known as the "Lower Village." Here Captain Ebenezer Webster established the first tavern, where now are the buildings of the New Hampshire Orphans' Home.

Ebenezer Eastman was the first to build a mill on the falls of the Pemigewasset and to set up a store and tavern. Kendall O. Peabody began the manufacture of paper on the Winnepeaukee after having set up a bakery. The Noyes Academy was founded in 1818 by the will of Joseph Noyes, who bequeathed ten thousand dollars and his farm to establish a school. This was succeeded by the "Instructors' School," directed by Benjamin M. Tyler.

The part of Franklin taken from the town of Northfield was returned to that town in 1830 and after possession of twenty-six years was ceded again to Franklin. New mills gradually sprung up, and teams conveyed the products of the manufacturing town to distant places. The manufactures included palm-leaf hats, stockings, paper, cloths, tubs, barrels and Bibles, the

last printed by Peabody & Daniel. The incoming of the Northern Railroad gave a new impetus to manufactures and trade and opened a new route to Vermont, some of whose troops for the Mexican War passed through Franklin. The paper and pulp industry has grown to large proportions. The hosiery business and the making of needles and knitting machines seemed to grow up spontaneously. Thus the growth of industries and population called for a city charter, which was granted in 1893, the first mayor being the Hon. Frank N. Parsons. The population at the last census was a little over six thousand and probably has reached from eight to ten thousand at this time.

Franklin boasts of some great names in the past. Not only Daniel Webster and his equally able brother Ezekiel had law offices here, but also Senator Thomas W. Thompson, Parker Noyes, Judge George W. Nesmith here practiced law. The last named had as students in his office Senator Austin F. Pike, Congressman Mason W. Tappan, Judge Stephen G. Nash of the Massachusetts Superior Court and Hon. Daniel Barnard, who was attorney-general, president of the State Senate and member of the governor's council. Congressman Warren F. Daniell and Judge Isaac N. Blodgett of the New Hampshire Supreme Court practiced law in Franklin. The city has two libraries, good hotels including the Webster House, a church for each of all the leading denominations, its own newspapers, banks, fine High School building and all the institutions needed to make a prosperous city. The surrounding scenery makes it an attractive place of residence.

Keene was chartered as a city in 1874 and at the time of the last census had a population of about ten thousand. The first mayor was Horatio Colony. Keene is remarkable for its five extensive public parks. Its water works are owned by the municipality. Its public institutions are the Thayer Library, the Elliot Hospital, the Invalids' Home and the State Normal School. The leading papers of Cheshire county are the *Sentinel* and the *Cheshire Republican*.

Keene is noted for its manufactures in woodenware. Factories turn out chairs, furniture, pails, and tubs. Shops of the Boston and Maine Railroad are here. Other manufactories include a pottery, glue works, granite cutting plant, shoe shops,

door, sash and blind factory. The annual output of all Keene's industries is estimated to be worth three million dollars.

The prominent citizens of Keene in the past have been the governors Samuel Dinsmoor, father and son, Governor Samuel W. Hale, Congressman Salma Hale, Judge Joel Parker, Gen. James Reed, Hon. James Wilson and his son, James Wilson Jr., and William E. Chamberlain, who contributed much to the prosperity of the city.

Berlin is built on the upper Androscoggin river, where there is a fall of two hundred feet in a mile. The neighboring forests of spruce and pine made it an ideal spot for the developing of the pulp and paper industry. Great paper mills have been erected by the International Paper Company, and a city of from twelve to fifteen thousand people has grown up with great rapidity, the youngest and the farthest north in New Hampshire. Government reservations and forestry legally directed will perpetuate and enlarge the city. The Grand Trunk Railroad offers facilities for transportation.

The city of Concord is described in the chapter on the Capital, in the fourth volume of this history.

APPENDIX A

Appendix A

THE CONSTITUTION—1784.

CONTAININING A BILL OF RIGHTS, AND FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

Agreed upon by the delegates of the people of the state of New Hampshire in convention held at Concord on the first Tuesday of June, 1783; submitted to and approved of by the people of said state, and established by their delegates in convention October 31, 1783. (This constitution "took place" on the first Wednesday of June, 1784.)

PART I.

THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

I. All men are born equally free and independent; therefore, all government of right originates from the people, is founded in consent, and instituted for the general good.

II. All men have certain natural, essential, and inherent rights, among which are the enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing, and protecting property, and, in a word, of seeking and obtaining happiness.

III. When men enter into a state of society they surrender up some of their natural rights to that society in order to insure the protection of others; and without such an equivalent the surrender is void.

IV. Among the natural rights some are in their very nature unalienable, because no equivalent can be given or received for them. Of this kind are the rights of conscience.

V. Every individual has a natural and unalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience and reason; and no subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate for worshiping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience, or for his religious profession, sentiments, or persuasion, provided he doth not disturb the public peace, or disturb others in their religious worship.

VI. As morality and piety, rightly grounded on evangelical principles, will give the best and greatest security to government, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to due subjection, and as the knowledge of these is most likely to be propagated through a society by the institution of the public worship of the Deity, and of public instruction in morality and religion, therefore, to promote those important purposes the people of this state have a right to empower, and do hereby fully empower the legislature to authorize from time to time the several towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies within this state to make adequate provision at their own expense for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality;

Provided, notwithstanding, that the several towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies shall at all times have the exclusive right of electing their own public teachers and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance. And no person of any one particular religious sect or denomination shall ever be compelled to pay towards the support of the teacher or teachers of another persuasion, sect, or denomination.

And every denomination of Christians demeaning themselves quietly, and as good subjects of the state, shall be equally under the protection of the

law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law.

And nothing herein shall be understood to affect any former contracts made for the support of the ministry; but all such contracts shall remain and be in the same state as if this constitution had not been made.

VII. The people of this state have the sole and exclusive right of governing themselves as a free, sovereign, and independent state, and do, and forever hereafter shall exercise and enjoy every power, jurisdiction, and right pertaining thereto which is not, or may not hereafter be by them expressly delegated to the United States of America in Congress assembled.

VIII. All power residing originally in and being derived from the people, all the magistrates and officers of government are their substitutes and agents, and at all times accountable to them.

IX. No office or place whatsoever in government shall be hereditary, the abilities and integrity requisite in all not being transmissible to posterity or relations.

X. Government being instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the whole community, and not for the private interest or emolument of any one man, family, or class of men; therefore, whenever the ends of government are perverted, and public liberty manifestly endangered, and all other means of redress are ineffectual, the people may, and of right ought to reform the old or establish a new government. The doctrine of non-resistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind.

XI. All elections ought to be free, and every inhabitant of the state, having the proper qualifications, has equal right to elect and be elected into office.

XII. Every member of the community has a right to be protected by it in the enjoyment of his life, liberty, and property; he is therefore bound to contribute his share in the expense of such protection, and to yield his personal service when necessary, or an equivalent. But no part of a man's property shall be taken from him, or applied to public uses without his own consent, or that of the representative body of the people. Nor are the inhabitants of this state controllable by any other laws than those to which they or their representative body have given their consent.

XIII. No person who is conscientiously scrupulous about the lawfulness of bearing arms shall be compelled thereto, provided he will pay an equivalent.

XIV. Every subject of this state is entitled to a certain remedy, by having recourse to the laws, for all injuries he may receive in his person, property, or character, to obtain right and justice freely, without being obliged to purchase it, completely, and without any denial, promptly, and without delay, conformably to the laws.

XV. No subject shall be held to answer for any crime or offense until the same is fully and plainly, substantially and formally described to him, or be compelled to accuse or furnish evidence against himself. And every subject shall have a right to produce all proofs that may be favorable to himself, to meet the witnesses against him face to face, and to be fully heard in his defence by himself and counsel. And no subject shall be arrested, imprisoned, despoiled or deprived of his property, immunities, or privileges, put out of the protection of the law, exiled, or deprived of his life, liberty, or estate but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land.

XVI. No subject shall be liable to be tried, after an acquittal, for the same crime or offence. Nor shall the legislature make any law that shall subject any person to a capital punishment, excepting for the government of the army and navy, and the militia in actual service, without trial by jury.

XVII. In criminal prosecutions the trial of facts in the vicinity where they happen is so essential to the security of the life, liberty and estate of the citizen that no crime or offence ought to be tried in any other county than that in which it is committed, except in cases of general insurrection in any particular county, when it shall appear to the judges of the superior court that an impartial trial cannot be had in the county where the offence may be committed; and upon their report the Assembly shall think proper to direct the trial in the nearest county in which an impartial trial can be obtained.

XVIII. All penalties ought to be proportioned to the nature of the offence. No wise legislature will affix the same punishment to the crimes of theft, forgery, and the like which they do to those of murder and treason; where the same undistinguishing severity is exerted against all offences the people are led to forget the real distinction in the crimes themselves, and to commit the most flagrant with as little compunction as they do those of the lightest dye; for the same reason a multitude of sanguinary laws is both impolitic and unjust, the true design of all punishments being to reform, not to exterminate mankind.

XIX. Every subject hath a right to be secure from all unreasonable searches and seizures of his person, his house, his papers, and all his possessions. All warrants, therefore, are contrary to this right if the cause or foundation of them be not previously supported by oath or affirmation, and if the order in the warrant to a civil officer to make search in suspected places, or to arrest one or more suspected persons, or to seize their property, be not accompanied with a special designation of the persons or objects of search, arrest and seizure; and no warrant ought to be issued but in cases, and with the formalities prescribed by the laws.

XX. In all controversies concerning property, and in all suits between two or more persons, except in cases in which it has been heretofore otherwise used and practiced, the parties have a right to a trial by jury; and this method of procedure shall be held sacred, unless, in causes arising on the high seas, and such as relate to mariners' wages, the legislature shall think it necessary hereafter to alter it.

XXI. In order to reap the fullest advantage of the inestimable privilege of the trial by jury, great care ought to be taken that none but qualified persons should be appointed to serve; and such ought to be fully compensated for their travel, time, and attendance.

XXII. The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a state; it ought, therefore, to be inviolably preserved.

XXIII. Retrospective laws are highly injurious, oppressive, and unjust. No such laws, therefore, should be made, either for the decision of civil causes or the punishment of offences.

XXIV. A well-regulated militia is the proper, natural and sure defence of a state.

XXV. Standing armies are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be raised or kept up without the consent of the legislature.

XXVI. In all cases and at all times the military ought to be under strict subordination and governed by the civil power.

XXVII. No soldier in time of peace shall be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner; and in time of war such quarters ought not to be made but by the civil magistrate, in a manner ordained by the legislature.

XXVIII. No subsidy, charge, tax, impost, or duty shall be established, fixed, laid, or levied under any pretext whatsoever without the consent of the people, or their representatives in the legislature, or authority derived from that body.

XXIX. The power of suspending the laws, or the execution of them,

ought never to be exercised but by the legislature, or by authority derived therefrom, to be exercised in such particular cases only as the legislature shall expressly provide for.

XXX. The freedom of deliberation, speech, and debate in either house of the legislature is so essential to the rights of the people that it cannot be the foundation of any action, complaint, or prosecution in any other court or place whatsoever.

XXXI. The legislature ought frequently to assemble for the redress of grievances, for correcting, strengthening, and confirming the laws, and for making new ones, as the common good may require.

XXXII. The people have a right, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble and consult upon the common good, give instructions to their Representatives, and to request of the legislative body, by way of petition or remonstrance, redress of the wrongs done them and of the grievances they suffer.

XXXIII. No magistrate or court of law shall demand excessive bail or sureties, impose excessive fines, or inflict cruel or unusual punishments.

XXXIV. No person can in any case be subjected to law martial, or to any pains or penalties by virtue of that law, except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service, but by authority of the legislature.

XXXV. It is essential to the preservation of the rights of every individual, his life, liberty, property, and character, that there be an impartial interpretation of the laws and administration of justice. It is the right of every citizen to be tried by judges as impartial as the lot of humanity will admit.

It is therefore not only the best policy, but for the security of the rights of the people, that the judges of the supreme (or superior) judicial court should hold their offices so long as they behave well; and that they should have honorable salaries, ascertained and established by standing laws.

XXXVI. Economy being a most essential virtue in all states, especially in a young one, no pension shall be granted but in consideration of actual services, and such pensions ought to be granted with great caution by the legislature and never for more than one year at a time.

XXXVII. In the government of this state the three essential powers thereof, to wit, the legislative, executive, and judicial ought to be kept as separate from and independent of each other as the nature of a free government will admit, or as is consistent with that chain of connection that binds the whole fabric of the constitution in one indissoluble bond of unity and amity.

XXXVIII. A frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of the constitution, and a constant adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, industry, frugality, and all the social virtues are indispensably necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty and good government; the people ought, therefore, to have a particular regard to all those principles in the choice of their officers and representatives; and they have a right to require of their lawgivers and magistrates an exact and constant observance of them in the formation and execution of the laws necessary for the good administration of government.

PART II.

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

The people inhabiting the territory formerly called the Province of New Hampshire do hereby solemnly and mutually agree with each other to form themselves into a free, sovereign, and independent body politic, or state, by the name of the State of New Hampshire.

THE GENERAL COURT.

The supreme legislative power within this state shall be vested in the Senate and House of Representatives, each of which shall have a negative on the other. The Senate and House shall assemble every year on the first Wednesday of June, and at such other times as they may judge necessary; and shall dissolve and be dissolved seven days next preceding the said first Wednesday of June; and shall be styled THE GENERAL COURT OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. The General Court shall forever have full power and authority to erect and constitute judicatories and courts of record or other courts, to be holden in the name of the state for the hearing, trying, and determining all manner of crimes, offences, pleas, processes, plaints, actions, causes, matters, and things whatsoever arising or happening within this state, or between or concerning persons inhabiting or residing or brought within the same whether the same be criminal or civil, or whether the crimes be capital or not capital, and whether the said pleas be real, personal, or mixed, and for the awarding and issuing execution thereon. To which courts and judicatories are hereby given and granted full power and authority from time to time to administer oaths or affirmations for the better discovery of truth in any matter in controversy or depending before them.

And, farther, full power and authority are hereby given and granted to the said General Court from time to time to make, ordain, and establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable orders, laws, statutes, ordinances, directions, and instructions, either with penalties or without, so as the same be not repugnant or contrary to this constitution, as they may judge for the benefit and welfare of this state, and for the governing and ordering thereof, and of the subjects of the same, for the necessary support and defence of the government thereof; and to name and settle annually, or provide by fixed laws for the naming and settling all civil officers within this state, such officers excepted, the election and appointment of whom are hereafter in this form of government otherwise provided for; and to set forth the several duties, powers, and limits of the several civil and military officers of this state, and the forms of such oaths or affirmations as shall be respectively administered unto them for the execution of their several offices and places, so as the same be not repugnant or contrary to this constitution; and also to impose fines, mulcts, imprisonments, and other punishments; and to propose and levy proportional and reasonable assessments, rates, and taxes upon all the inhabitants of and residents within the said state, and upon all estates within the same, to be issued and disposed of by warrant under the hand of the President of this state and for the time being, with the advice and consent of the Council, for the public service in the necessary defence and support of the government of this state, and the protection and preservation of the subjects thereof, according to such acts as are or shall be in force within the same.

And while the public charges of government, or any part thereof, shall be assessed on polls and estates in the manner that has heretofore been practiced, in order that such assessments may be made with equality there shall be a valuation of the estates within the state taken anew once in every five years at least, and as much oftener as the General Court shall order.

SENATE.

There shall be annually elected by the freeholders and other inhabitants of this state, qualified as in this constitution is provided, twelve persons, to be Senators for the year ensuing their election, to be chosen in and by the inhabitants of the districts into which the state may from time to time be divided by the General Court for that purpose; and the General Court, in assigning the number to be elected by the respective districts, shall govern

themselves by the proportion of public taxes paid by the said districts, and timely make known to the inhabitants of the state the limits of each district and the number of Senators to be elected therein, provided the number of such districts shall never be more than ten nor less than five.

And the several counties in this state shall, until the General Court shall order otherwise, be districts for the election of Senators, and shall elect the following number, viz.: Rockingham, five; Strafford, two; Hillsborough, two; Cheshire, two; Grafton, one.

The Senate shall be the first branch of the legislature, and the Senators shall be chosen in the following manner, viz.: every male inhabitant of each town and parish with town privileges in the several counties in this state, of twenty-one years of age and upwards, paying for himself a poll tax, shall have a right, at the annual or other meetings of the inhabitants of said towns and parishes to be duly warned and holden annually forever in the month of March, to vote in the town or parish wherein he dwells for the Senators in the county or district whereof he is a member.

And every person qualified as the constitution provides shall be considered an inhabitant for the purpose of electing and being elected into any office or place within this state, in that town, parish, and plantation wherein he dwelleth and hath his home.

The selectmen of the several towns and parishes aforesaid shall, during the choice of Senators, preside at such meetings impartially, and shall receive the votes of all the inhabitants of such towns and parishes present and qualified to vote for Senators, and shall sort and count the same in the meeting, and in the presence of the town clerk, who shall make a fair record in presence of the selectmen and in open meeting, of the name of every person voted for, and the number of votes against his name; and a fair copy of this record shall be attested by the selectmen and town clerk, and shall be sealed up and directed to the Secretary of the State, with a subscription expressing the purport thereof, and delivered by said clerk to the sheriff of the county in which such town or parish lies thirty days at least before the first Wednesday of June; and the sheriff of each county, or his deputy, shall deliver all such certificates by him received into the Secretary's office seventeen days at least before the first Wednesday of June.

And the inhabitants of plantations and places unincorporated, qualified as this constitution provides, who are or shall be required to assess taxes upon themselves towards the support of government, or shall be taxed therefor, shall have the same privilege of voting for Senators in the plantations and places wherein they reside as the inhabitants of the respective towns and parishes aforesaid have.

And the meetings of such plantations and places for that purpose shall be holden annually in the month of March at such places respectively therein as the assessors thereof shall direct; which assessors shall have like authority for notifying the electors, collecting and returning the votes, as the selectmen and town clerks have in their several towns by this constitution. And, that there may be a due meeting of Senators on the first Wednesday of June annually, the President and three of the Council for the time being shall, as soon as may be, examine the returned copies of such records; and fourteen days before the said first Wednesday in June he shall issue his summons to such persons as appear to be chosen Senators by a majority of votes to attend and take their seats on that day; *provided nevertheless*, that for the first year the said returned copies shall be examined by the President and five of the Council of the former constitution of government; and the said President shall in like manner notify the persons elected to attend and take their seats accordingly.

The Senate shall be final judges of the elections, returns, and qualifications of their own members as pointed out in this constitution, and shall, on

the said first Wednesday of June annually, determine and declare who are elected by each district to be Senators by a majority of votes, and in case there shall not appear to be the full number returned elected by a majority of votes for any district, the deficiency shall be supplied in the following manner, viz.: the members of the House of Representatives, and such Senators as shall be declared elected, shall take the names of such persons as shall be found to have the highest number of votes in each district, and not elected, amounting to twice the number of Senators wanting, if there be so many voted for, and out of these shall elect by joint ballot the number of Senators wanted for such district; and in this manner all such vacancies shall be filled up in every district of the state, and in like manner all vacancies in the Senate arising by death, removal out of the state, or otherwise shall be supplied as soon as may be after such vacancies happen.

Provided, nevertheless, that no person shall be capable of being elected Senator who is not of the Protestant religion, and seized of a freehold estate in his own right of the value of two hundred pounds lying within this state, who is not of the age of thirty years, and who shall not have been an inhabitant of this state for seven years immediately preceding his election; and at the time thereof he shall be an inhabitant of the district for which he shall be chosen.

The Senate shall have power to adjourn themselves, provided such adjournments do not exceed two days at a time.

The Senate shall appoint their own officers and determine their own rules of proceedings; and not less than seven members of the Senate shall make a quorum for doing business; and when less than eight Senators shall be present the assent of five at least shall be necessary to render their acts and proceedings valid.

The Senate shall be a court with full power and authority to hear and determine all impeachments made by the House of Representatives against any officer or officers of the state for misconduct or maladministration in their offices; but previous to the trial of any such impeachment the members of the Senate shall respectively be sworn truly and impartially to try and determine the charge in question according to evidence.

Their judgment, however, shall not extend farther than removal from office, disqualification to hold or enjoy any place of honor, trust, or profit under this state; but the party so convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment according to laws of the land.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

There shall be in the legislature of this state a representation of the people, annually elected and founded upon principles of equality; and, in order that such representation may be as equal as circumstances will admit, every town, parish, or place entitled to town privileges, having one hundred and fifty ratable male polls of twenty-one years of age and upwards, may elect one Representative; if four hundred and fifty ratable polls, may elect two Representatives; and so proceeding in that proportion, making three hundred such ratable polls the mean increasing number for every additional Representative.

Such towns, parishes, or places as have less than one hundred and fifty ratable polls shall be classed by the General Assembly for the purpose of choosing a Representative, and seasonably notified thereof.

And in every class formed for the above-mentioned purpose the first annual meeting shall be held in the town, parish, or place wherein most of the ratable polls reside, and afterwards in that which has the next highest number, and so on, annually, by rotation, through the several towns, parishes, or places forming the district.

Whenever any town, parish, or place entitled to town privileges as aforesaid shall not have one hundred and fifty ratable polls, and be so situated as

to render the classing thereof with any other town, parish, or place very inconvenient, the General Assembly may, upon application of a majority of the voters in such town, parish, or place, issue a writ for their electing and sending a Representative to the General Court.

The members of the House of Representatives shall be chosen annually in the month of March, and shall be the second branch of legislature.

All persons qualified to vote in the election of Senators shall be entitled to vote within the town, district, parish, or place where they dwell in the choice of Representatives. Every member of the House of Representatives shall be chosen by ballot; and for two years, at least, next preceding his election shall have been an inhabitant of this state, shall have an estate within the town, parish, or place which he may be chosen to represent of the value of one hundred pounds, one-half of which to be a freehold whereof he is seized in his own right; shall be at the time of his election an inhabitant of the town, parish, or place he may be chosen to represent; shall be of the Protestant religion; and shall cease to represent such town, parish, or place immediately on his ceasing to be qualified as aforesaid.

The travel of each Representative to the General Assembly, and returning home once in every session and no more, shall be at the expense of the state, and the wages for his attendance at the expense of the town, parish, or places he represents; such members attending seasonably, and not departing without license. All intermediate vacancies in the House of Representatives may be filled up from time to time in the same manner as annual elections are made.

The House of Representatives shall be the grand inquest of the state, and all impeachments made by them shall be heard and tried by the Senate.

All money bills shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

The House of Representatives shall have power to adjourn themselves, but no longer than for two days at a time.

A majority of the members of the House of Representatives shall be a quorum for doing business; but when less than two thirds of the Representatives elected shall be present the assent of two thirds of those members shall be necessary to render their acts and proceedings valid.

No member of the House of Representatives or Senate shall be arrested or held bail on mesne process during his going to, returning from, or attendance upon the Court.

The House of Representatives shall choose their own speaker, appoint their own officers, and settle the rules of proceedings in their own House. They shall have the authority to punish by imprisonment every person who shall be guilty of disrespect to the House, in its presence, by any disorderly and contemptuous behavior, or by threatening or ill-treating any of its members, or by obstructing its deliberations; every person guilty of a breach of its privileges in making arrests for debt, or by assaulting any member during his attendance at any session, in assaulting or disturbing any one of its officers in the execution of any order or procedure of the house, in assaulting any witness or other person ordered to attend, by and during his attendance of the House, or in rescuing any person arrested by order of the House, knowing them to be such. The Senate, President, and Council shall have the same powers in like cases, provided that no imprisonment by either for any offense exceed ten days.

The journals of the proceedings of both houses of the General Court shall be printed and published immediately after every adjournment or prorogation; and, upon motion made by any one member, the yeas and nays upon any question shall be taken and entered in the journals.

EXECUTIVE POWER—PRESIDENT.

There shall be a supreme executive magistrate who shall be styled The

President of the State of New Hampshire, and whose title shall be *His Excellency*.

The President shall be chosen annually; and no person shall be eligible to this office unless at the time of his election he shall have been an inhabitant of this state for seven years next preceding; and unless he shall be of the age of thirty years; and unless he shall, at the same time, have an estate of the value of five hundred pounds, one half of which shall consist of a freehold in his own right within the state; and unless he shall be of the Protestant religion.

Those persons qualified to vote for Senators and Representatives shall, within the several towns, parishes, or places where they dwell, at a meeting to be called for the purpose some day in the month of March annually, give in their votes for a President to the selectmen who shall preside at such meeting; and the clerk, in the presence and with the assistance of the selectmen, shall in open meeting sort and count the votes and form a list of persons voted for, with the number of votes for each person against his name, and shall make a fair record of the same in the town books, and a public declaration thereof in the said meeting; and shall, in the presence of said inhabitants, seal up a copy of said list, attested by him and the selectmen, and transmit the same to the sheriff of the county thirty days, at least, before the first Wednesday of June, or shall cause returns of the same to be made to the office of the Secretary of State seventeen days, at least before said day, who shall lay the same before the Senate and House of Representatives on the first Wednesday of June, to be by them examined; and, in case of an election by a majority of votes through the state, the choice shall be by them declared and published; but if no person shall have a majority of votes the House of Representatives shall by ballot elect two out of the four persons who had the highest number of votes, if so many shall have been voted for, but, if otherwise out of the number voted for, and make return to the Senate of the two persons so elected, on which the Senate shall proceed by ballot to elect one of them, who shall be declared President.

The President of the state shall preside in the Senate; shall have a vote equal with any other member; and shall also have a casting vote in case of a tie.

The President, with the advice of Council, shall have full power and authority in the recess of the General Court to prorogue the same from time to time not exceeding ninety days in any one recess of said Court; and, during the session of said Court, to adjourn or prorogue it to any time the two houses may desire; and to call it together sooner than the time to which it may be adjourned or prorogued if the welfare of the state should require the same.

In cases of disagreement between the two houses with regard to the time of adjournment or prorogation, the President, with advice of Council, shall have a right to adjourn or prorogue the General Court, not exceeding ninety days at any one time, as he may determine the public good may require. And he shall dissolve the same seven days before the said first Wednesday of June. And in case of any infectious distemper prevailing in the place where the said Court at any time is to convene, or any other cause whereby dangers may arise to the healths or lives of the members from their attendance, the President may direct the session to be holden at some other, the most convenient place within the state.

The President of this state for the time being shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and all the military forces of the state by sea and land; and shall have full power by himself, or by any chief commander or other officer or officers, from time to time to train, instruct, exercise, and govern the militia and navy; and for the special defence and safety of this state to assemble in martial array and put in warlike posture the inhabitants

thereof; and to lead and conduct them, and with them to encounter, expulse, repel, resist, and pursue by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, within and without the limits of this state, and also to kill, slay, destroy, if necessary, and conquer by all fitting ways, enterprise, and means all and every such person and persons as shall at any time hereafter in a hostile manner attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of this state; and to use and exercise over the army and navy, and over the militia in actual service, the law martial in time of war, invasion, and also in rebellion, declared by the legislature to exist, as occasion shall necessarily require; and surprise by all ways and means whatsoever all and every such person and persons, with their ships, arms, ammunition, and other goods, as shall in a hostile manner invade or attempt the invading, conquering, or annoying this state; and, in fine, the President hereby is intrusted with all other powers incident to the office of captain-general, and commander-in-chief, and admiral, to be exercised agreeably to the rules and regulations of the constitution and the laws of the land; *provided* that the President shall not at any time hereafter, by virtue of any power by this constitution granted or hereafter to be granted to him by the legislature, transport any of the inhabitants of this state, or oblige them to march, out of the limits of the same without their free and voluntary consent or the consent of the General Court, nor grant commissions for exercising the law martial in any case without the advice and consent of the Council.

The power of pardoning offences, except such as persons may be convicted of before the Senate by impeachment of the House, shall be in the President, by and with the advice of the Council; but no charter of pardon granted by the President, with advice of Council, before conviction, shall avail the party pleading the same, notwithstanding any general or particular expressions contained therein descriptive of the offence or offences intended to be pardoned.

All judicial officers, the attorney-general, solicitor-general, all sheriffs, coroners, registers of probate, and all officers of the navy, and general and field officers of the militia shall be nominated and appointed by the President and Council; and every such nomination shall be made at least seven days prior to such appointment, and no appointment shall take place unless three of the Council agree thereto.

The captains and subalterns in the respective regiments shall be nominated and recommended by the field officers to the President, who is to issue their commissions immediately on receipt of such recommendation. No officer duly commissioned to command in the militia shall be removed from his office but by the address of both houses to the President, or by fair trial in court-martial pursuant to the laws of the state for the time being.

The commanding officers of the regiments shall appoint their adjutants and quartermasters, the brigadiers their brigade-majors, the major-generals their aids, the captains and subalterns their non-commissioned officers. The President and Council shall appoint all officers of the continental army whom by the confederation of the United States it is provided that this state shall appoint, as also all officers of forts and garrisons.

The division of the militia into brigades, regiments, and companies, made in pursuance of the militia laws now in force, shall be considered as the proper division of the militia of this state until the same be altered by some future law.

No monies shall be issued out of the treasury of this state and disposed of (except such sums as may be appropriated for the redemption of bills of credit or treasurer's notes, or for the payment of interest arising thereon) but by warrant under the hand of the President for the time being, by and with the advice and consent of the Council, for the necessary support and

defence of this state, and for the necessary protection and preservation of the inhabitants thereof, agreeably to the acts and resolves of the General Court.

All public boards, the commissary-general, all superintending officers of public magazines and stores belonging to this state, and all commanding officers of forts and garrisons within the same shall once in every three months officially, and without requisition, and at other times when required by the President, deliver to him an account of all goods, stores, provisions, ammunition, cannon with their appendages, and small arms with their accoutrements, and of all other public property under their care respectively, distinguishing the quantity and kind of each as particularly as may be, together with the condition of such forts and garrisons; and the commanding officer shall exhibit to the President, when required by him, true and exact plans of such forts, and of the land and sea or harbor or harbors adjacent.

The President and Council shall be compensated for their services from time to time by such grants as the General Court shall think reasonable.

Permanent and honorable salaries shall be established by law for the justices of the superior court.

Whenever the chair of the President shall be vacant by reason of his death, absence from the state or otherwise, the senior Senator for the time being shall, during such vacancy, have and exercise all the powers and authorities which by this constitution the President is vested with when personally present.

COUNCIL.

Annually, on the first meeting of the General Court, two members of the Senate and three from the House of Representatives shall be chosen by joint ballot of both houses as a Council, for advising the President in the executive part of government, whom the President for the time being shall have full power and authority to convene from time to time at his discretion; and the President, with the Councillors, or three of them at least, shall and may from time to time hold and keep a Council for ordering and directing the affairs of the state according to the laws of the land. The qualifications for Councillors shall be the same as those required for Senators. The members of the Council shall not intermeddle with the making or trying impeachments, but shall themselves be impeachable by the House and triable by the Senate for mal-conduct.

The resolutions and advice of the Council shall be recorded in a register, and signed by the members present; and this record may be called for at any time by either house of the legislature, and any member of the Council may enter his opinion contrary to the resolution of the majority.

And whereas the elections appointed to be made by this constitution on the first Wednesday of June, annually, by the two houses of the legislature may not be completed on that day, the said elections may be adjourned from day to day until the same shall be completed.

And the order of the elections shall be as follows: the vacancies in the Senate, if any, shall first be filled up; the President shall then be elected, provided there should be no choice of him by the people; and afterwards the two houses shall proceed to the election of the Council.

SECRETARY, TREASURER, COMMISSARY-GENERAL, ETC.

The Secretary, Treasurer, and Commissary-General shall be chosen by joint ballot of the Senators and Representatives assembled in one room.

The records of the state shall be kept in the office of the Secretary, who may appoint his deputies, for whose conduct he shall be answerable; and

he shall attend the President and Council, the Senate and Representatives, in person or by deputy, as they may require.

COUNTY TREASURER, ETC.

The county treasurers and registers of deeds shall be elected by the inhabitants of the several towns in the several counties in the state according to the method now practiced, and the present laws of the state; and, before they enter upon the business of their offices, shall be respectively sworn faithfully to discharge the duties thereof, and shall severally give bond, with sufficient sureties, in a reasonable sum for the use of the county for the punctual performance of their respective trusts.

JUDICIAKY POWER.

The tenure that all commission officers shall have by law in their offices shall be expressed in their respective commissions. All judicial officers duly appointed, commissioned, and sworn shall hold their offices during good behavior, excepting those concerning whom there is a different provision made in this constitution; *provided, nevertheless,* the President, with consent of Council, may remove them upon the address of both houses of the legislature.

Each branch of the legislature, as well as the President and Council, shall have authority to require the opinions of the justices of the superior court upon important questions of law, and upon solemn occasions.

In order that the people may not suffer from the long continuance in place of any justice of the peace who shall fail in discharging the important duties of his office with ability and fidelity, all commissions of justices of the peace shall become void at the expiration of five years from their respective dates; and upon the expiration of any commission the same may, if necessary, be renewed, or another person appointed, as shall most conduce to the well-being of the state. The judges of probate of wills and for granting letters of administration shall hold their courts at such place or places, on such fixed days as the convenience of the people may require; and the Legislature shall, from time to time, hereafter appoint such times and places, until which appointments the said courts shall be holden at the times and places which the respective judges shall direct.

All causes of marriage, divorce, and alimony, and all appeals from the respective judges of probate shall be heard and tried by the superior court, until the legislature shall by law make other provision.

CLERKS OF COURTS.

The clerks of the superior court of judicature, inferior courts of common pleas, and general sessions of the peace shall be appointed by the respective courts during pleasure; and to prevent any fraud or unfairness in the entries and records of said courts no such clerk shall be of counsel in any cause in the court of which he is clerk, nor shall he fill any writ in any civil action whatsoever.

DELEGATES TO CONGRESS.

The delegates of this state to the Congress of the United States shall, sometime between the first Wednesday of June and the first Wednesday of September, annually, be elected by the Senate and House of Representatives in their separate branches, to serve in Congress for one year to commence on the first Monday in November then next ensuing.

They shall have commissions under the hand of the President and the great seal of the state, but may be recalled at any time within the year, and others chosen and commissioned in the same manner in their stead;

and they shall have the same qualifications in all respects as by this constitution are required for the President.

No person shall be capable of being a delegate to Congress for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States for which he, or any other for his benefit, receives any salary or emolument of any kind.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF LITERATURE, ETC.

Knowledge and learning generally diffused through a community being essential to the preservation of a free government, and spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the various parts of the country being highly conducive to promote this end, it shall be the duty of these legislators and the magistrates in all future periods of this government to cherish the interest of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries and public schools; to encourage private and public institutions, rewards and immunities for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and economy, honesty and punctuality, sincerity, sobriety, and all social affections and generous sentiments among the people.

OATH AND SUBSCRIPTIONS; EXCLUSION FROM OFFICES; COMMISSIONS; WRITS; CONFIRMATION OF LAWS; HABEAS CORPUS, THE ENACTING STYLE; CONTINUANCE OF OFFICERS; PROVISION FOR A FUTURE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION, ETC.

Any person chosen President, Councillor, Senator, or Representative, military or civil officer (town officers excepted), accepting the trust, shall, before he proceeds to execute the duties of his office, make and subscribe the following declaration, viz.:

I, A B, do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare that the state of New Hampshire is, and of right ought to be a free, sovereign, and independent state, and do swear that I will bear faith and true allegiance to the same, and that I will endeavor to defend it against all treacherous conspiracies and hostile attempts whatever; and I do further testify and declare that no man or body of men hath or can have a right to absolve me from the obligation of this oath, declaration, or affirmation, and that I do make this acknowledgment, profession, testimony, and declaration honestly and truly, according to the common acceptation of the foregoing words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatever. So help me God.

I, A B, do solemnly and sincerely swear and affirm that I will faithfully and impartially discharge and perform all the duties incumbent on me as _____, according to the best of my abilities, agreeably to the rules and regulations of this constitution, and the laws of the state of New Hampshire. So help me God.

Provided always, when any person chosen or appointed as aforesaid shall be of the denomination called Quakers, or shall be scrupulous of swearing, and shall decline taking the said oaths, such shall take and subscribe them omitting the word "swear" and likewise the words "So help me God," subjoining instead thereof, "This I do under the pains and penalties of perjury."

And the oaths or affirmations shall be taken and subscribed by the President before the senior Senator present, in the presence of the two houses of assembly; and by the Senate and Representatives first elected under this constitution before the President and three of the Council of the former constitution, and forever afterwards before the President and

APPENDIX

Council for the time being; and by the residue of the officers aforesaid before such persons and in such manner as from time to time shall be prescribed by the legislature.

All commissions shall be in the name of the state of New Hampshire, signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary or his deputy, and shall have the great seal of the state affixed thereto.

All writs issuing out of the clerk's office in any of the courts of law shall be in the name of the state of New Hampshire, shall be under the seal of the court whence they issue, and bear test of the chief, first, or senior justice of the court; but when such justice shall be interested, then the writ shall bear test of some other justice of the court to which the same shall be returnable, and be signed by the clerk of such court.

All indictments, presentments, and informations shall conclude against the peace and dignity of the state.

The estates of such persons as may destroy their own lives shall not for that offence be forfeited, but descend or ascend in the same manner as if such persons had died in a natural way. Nor shall any article which shall accidentally occasion the death of any person be henceforth deemed a deodand, or in any wise forfeited on account of such misfortune.

All the laws which have heretofore been adopted, used, and approved in the province, colony, or state of New Hampshire, and usually practiced on in the courts of law, shall remain and be in full force until altered and repealed by the legislature; such parts thereof only excepted as are repugnant to the rights and liberties contained in this constitution; *provided* that nothing herein contained, when compared with the twenty-third article in the bill of rights, shall be construed to affect the laws already made respecting the persons or estates of absentees.

The privilege and benefit of the *habeas corpus* shall be enjoyed in this state in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious, and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the legislature except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a time not exceeding three months.

The enacting style in making and passing acts, statutes, and laws shall be, *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened.*

No President or judge of the superior court shall hold any office or place under the authority of this state except such as by this constitution they are admitted to hold, saving that the judges of the said court may hold the offices of justices of the peace throughout the state; nor shall they hold any place or office, or receive any pension or salary from any other state, government, or power whatever.

No person shall be capable of exercising at the same time more than one of the following offices within this state, viz., judge of probate, sheriff, register of deeds; and never more than two offices of profit which may be held by appointment of the President, or President and Council, or Senate and House of Representatives, or superior or inferior courts, military offices and offices of justices of the peace excepted.

No person holding the office of judge of the superior court, Secretary, Treasurer of the state, judge of probate, attorney-general, commissary-general, judge of the maritime court, or judge of the court of admiralty, military officers receiving pay from the continent or this state, excepting officers of the militia occasionally called forth on an emergency, judge of the inferior court of common pleas, register of deeds, president, professor, or instructor of any college, sheriff, or officer of the customs, including naval officers, shall at the same time have a seat in the Senate, or House of Representatives, or Council; but their being chosen or appointed to, and accepting the same, shall operate as a resignation of their seat in the Senate,

or House of Representatives, or Council; and the place so vacated shall be filled up.

No person shall ever be admitted to hold a seat in the legislature, or any office of trust or importance under the government, who in the due course of law has been convicted of bribery or corruption in obtaining an election or appointment.

In all cases where sums of money are mentioned in this constitution the value thereof shall be computed in silver at *six shillings and eight pence per ounce.*

To the end that there may be no failure of justice or danger arise to this state from a change of the form of government, all civil and military officers holding commissions under the government and people of New Hampshire, and other officers of the said government and people, at the time this constitution shall take effect, shall hold, exercise, and enjoy all the powers and authorities to them granted and committed until other persons shall be appointed in their stead. All courts of law in the business of their respective departments, and the executive and legislative bodies and persons shall continue in full force, enjoyment, and exercise of all their trusts and employments until the General Court and the supreme and other executive officers under this constitution are designated and invested with their respective trusts, powers, and authority.

This form of government shall be enrolled on parchment and deposited in the Secretary's office, and be a part of the laws of the land; and printed copies thereof shall be prefixed to the books containing the laws of this state in all future editions thereof.

To preserve an effectual adherence to the principles of the constitution, and to correct any violations thereof, as well as to make such alterations therein as from experience may be found necessary, the General Court shall, at the expiration of seven years from the time this constitution shall take effect, issue precepts, or direct them to be issued from the Secretary's office, to the several towns and incorporated places to elect delegates to meet in convention for the purposes aforesaid; the said delegates to be chosen in the same manner and proportioned as the representatives to the General Assembly; *provided* that no alteration shall be made in this constitution before the same shall be laid before the towns and unincorporated places, and approved by two-thirds of the qualified voters present and voting upon the question.

IN CONVENTION HELD AT CONCORD,
The 31st Day of October, 1783.

The returns from the several towns being examined, and it appearing that the foregoing bill of rights and form of government were approved of by the people, the same are hereby agreed on and established by the delegates of the people, and declared to be the civil constitution for the state of New Hampshire, to take place on the first Wednesday in June, 1784; and that in the meantime the General Court under the present government make all the necessary arrangements for introducing this constitution at that time, and in the manner therein described.

NATHANIEL FOLSOM,
President P. T.

Attest:

J. M. SEWALL, *Secretary.*

INDEX

INDEX

Index of Subjects and Places

- Abolitionists—129-43
Academies—153, 222-29
Agricultural College—161
American Party—154
Amherst—70
Anti-Slavery Societies—133, 136
Banks—72, 94, 97-8, 115, 125
Berlin—185, 351
Betterment Law—7
Blind Aided—116
Boots and Shoes—189
Boscawen—55
Bounties—89
Bowdoin College—138, 160, 217, 232,
 255, 294
Brewster Free Academy—227
Canterbury—90
Capital Punishment—119
Chester—70, 87
Cities—339-51
Coe's Academy—228
Colby Academy—223
Commerce—8-9
Compromise Measures—253, 261
Concord—8, 14, 69, 78, 79, 92, 149,
 185-9
Constitution of Indian Stream—
 106-9
Constitution of New Hampshire—
 151 and Appendix
Constitution of United States—48,
 75, 88, 131
Congressional Library—88, 187
Congress Criticized—95
Copper—122
Cotton Factories—4
Corporations—13, 71, 82, 96, 116, 119,
 120
Courts—14
Creameries—190
Crime—75, 90, 92
Cyclone—74
Dartmouth College—41-9, 54, 70, 76,
 89, 90, 118, 124, 135-8, 148-9, 156,
 161, 203, 229, 232-6, 241, 245, 291,
 296, 300, 301, 303-5
Deaf Mutes—73
Democrats—7, 42, 85, 94, 113, 129,
 139, 253ff, 153
Dover—69, 79, 152, 184, 335, 344
Dow Academy—228
Durham—229
Enfield—69
Era of Good Feeling—75
Exeter—45, 91, 139, 155, 228, 255,
 303
Farming—194
Federalists—4, 11, 12, 14, 18, 33, 35,
 56, 65, 77, 85, 114
Financial Panic—116
Fitzwilliam—7, 188
Franklin—349-50
Francesstown—70, 76, 160, 188, 255
Free Soil Party—138, 139, 153
Fryeburg Academy—55
Gag Law—134
Geologic Survey—114, 122
Granite Quarries—185-9
Great Britain—34, 105, 121
Hail Columbia—46
Hartford Asylum—23, 116
Hartford Convention—35, 65
Harvard College—114, 156, 239, 289,
 302, 308, 311
Haverhill—113, 122
Hillsborough—4, 86

- Hinsdale—160
 Holderness—226
 Hopkinton—8
 Immigrants—191-2
 Impressment of Americans—22-3
 Imprisonment for Debt—7, 89
 Indian Stream—103
 Industries—3
 Insanity—91-2
 Internal Improvements—75, 96, 116
 Inventors—197-206
 Iron Ore—122
 Jaffrey—4
 Jackson—122
 Keene—77, 91, 113, 150, 160, 185, 221, 350
 Kimball Union Academy—222
 Know-Nothings—154, 156, 157
 Labor Organizations—191
 Laconia—348-9
 Lebanon—188
 Literary Fund—75, 211
 Littleton—185
 Londonderry—228
 Lundy's Lane—30
 Machinery—193-4
 Manchester—182, 191, 341ff
 Manufactures—65, 74, 181-94
 Mexican War—124, 148, 257
 Mica—123
 Milford—188
 Militia—93, 117, 148, 150
 Miniature Republic—103
 Nashua—183, 343
 New Hampton Academy—224
 New Ipswich—183, 197
 New London—223
 New Hampshire College—229
 New Hampshire Historical Society—77, 187
 New Hampshire Granite—88, 185-9
 New Hampshire Observer—78
 New Hampshire Patriot—17-8, 95
 New Hampshire Statesman—78
 Normal School—161, 218-21
 North Conway—188
 Nottingham—26
 Party Machine—5, 77
 Pauperism—74
 Peterborough—4, 9, 119
 Pembroke—4, 216, 228
 Pension Act—118
 Phillips Academy—10, 54, 78, 114, 203, 227, 291, 297
 Pinkerton Academy—227
 Pittsburgh—105, 110
 Plymouth—46, 219, 220
 Plumbago—123
 Politics—4-6, 85ff, 113
 Population—3, 181
 Portsmouth—9, 15, 56, 136, 185, 342
 Privateers—26
 Prohibition—157
 Proctor Academy—226
 Quartz—123
 Railroads—95, 114, 150, 153, 165-78
 Reform School—161
 Republicans—6, 9, 18, 65, 78, 85, 135, 160
 Robinson Seminary—228
 Rollinsford—184, 345-6
 Rochester—346-8
 Roman Catholic Church—154, 159, 229
 Rumford Press—189
 Salaries—96
 Schools—7, 209ff
 Somersworth—345-6
 Slavery—72, 95, 121, 130, 271
 St. Paul's School—225
 State House—67
 State Militia—24
 State Prison—14, 89
 State Rights—24
 Stewartstown—25
 Tariff—97-8, 118, 120
 Taxation—97, 119
 Teachers' Association—216
 Teachers' Institutes—215
 Textiles—182
 Tin—122

- Tilton Seminary—223
 Toleration Act—71
 Tornado—67
 Voters Disfranchised—81
 Wages—190, 210, 253
 War of 1812—13, 21ff
 Warner—25
 Warren—122-3
 Whigs 85, 113-4, 126, 233, 264
 Woolen Mills—184
 Women, How Taxed—119
 Zinc—122
-

Index of Names

- Abbott, Daniel, 183
 Adams, George E., 311
 John Q., 258
 Isaac, 347
 Nehemiah, 135
 Seth, 347
 Aldrich, Edgar, 110
 Thomas B., 343
 Allen, William, 44
 Anderson, Ola, 188
 Andrews, Elisha B., 241
 Appleton, Jane M., 256
 Jesse, 256
 Nathan, 311
 Ashley, Henry, 311
 Atherton, Charles G., 134, 151, 257,
 289, 343
 Charles H., 311
 Joshua, 289
 Atkinson, William K., 69
 Atwood, David, 311
 Rev. John, 261
 Babbitt, Clinton, 311
 Badger, Joseph, 7
 William, 93-4
 Bailey, Edwin C., 299
 George, 299
 Goldsmith F., 312
 Moses, 299
 Baker, Henry M., 312
 Nathaniel B., 155
 Baldwin, Josephus, 343
 Bancroft, Cecil P., 244
 Barnard, Daniel, 350
 Barker, David, 347
 Barry, Garret, 186
 Bartlett, Ichabod, 44, 77, 91, 151,
 154-5, 312
 Josiah, Jr., 312
 Levi, 7
 Samuel C., 234
 Batchelder, Herman, 106
 D. Homer, 155
 Batterson, James G., 186-7
 Bean, Benning M., 312
 Curtis C., 313
 Nehemiah S., 205
 Bedel, John, 125
 Moody, 24, 104
 Beebe, Daniel G., 214
 Bell, Charles H., 76, 86
 James, 151, 155, 160
 John, 70, 86-7
 Samuel, 70, 72-3, 75, 86, 94, 96
 Samuel D., 160
 Benton, Thomas H., 280
 Berry, Nathaniel G., 123
 Betton, Silas, 313
 Blair, Henry W., 290
 Blanchard, David, 110, 186
 Jonathan, 313
 Bliss, W. W. S., 125
 Blodgett, Isaac N., 350
 Bouton, Nathaniel, 134
 Bowers, George, 125
 Branch, Oliver E., 259
 Brewster, John, 227

INDEX

- Briggs, James F., 313
 Brigham, Levi, 68
 Bridgman, Laura D., 245
 Brodhead, John, 314
 Brown, Elisha, 344
 Francis, 43, 232
 Jacob, 31
 Titus, 314
 Buchanan, James, 254, 267, 283-4
 Burke, Edmund, 314
 Buffum, David, 346
 Burleigh, Henry G., 314
 Micajah, 346
 William, 314
 Burnham, Eben E., 291
 Josiah, 7
 Burr, Aaron, 291
 Busiel, Charles A., 349
 Butler, Benjamin F., 247
 Prof. J. J., 224
 Butterfield, Martin, 315
 Ralph, 235
 Campbell, James, 272-3
 Carrigain, Philip, 67
 Carr, Moses, 345
 Carter, Edgar A., 346
 Cass, Lewis, 26, 193, 253-4, 291-2
 Chamberlain, Levi, 154
 John C., 315
 W. B., 301
 William E., 351
 Chandler, Abial, 233
 Deborah, 299
 John, 293-4
 Thomas, 315
 William E., 143, 292-3
 Zachariah, 294
 Chase, Aquila, 296
 Dudley, 295
 Philander, 241, 296
 Salmon P., 142
 Cheney, Oren B., 248
 Chickering, Abner, 197
 Jonas, 197
 Choate, Rufus, 37, 46
 Christie, Daniel M., 138, 154, 344
 Cilley, Bradbury L., 248
 Claggett, Clifton, 315
 Clay, Henry, 299
 Clarke, Frank G., 316
 Daniel, 160, 295
 Cochrane, Frank B., 316
 Coit, Henry A., 225
 Colbath, Jeremiah J., 306
 Winthrop, 306
 Cole, Benjamin J., 349
 Colby, Anthony, 119, 123-6, 132, 223
 Comstock, Charles C., 316
 Crosby, Alpheus, 249
 Currier, David, 155
 Frank D., 316
 Cushing, Caleb, 272, 279
 Jonathan P., 347
 Cushman, Samuel, 316
 Cutler, Carroll, 249
 Cutts, Charles, 11, 296
 Thomas, 104
 Dame, Jabez, 347
 Damrell, William S., 316
 Dana, Daniel, 232
 Samuel, 70
 Daniell, Warren F., 350
 Dartmouth, Earl of, 235
 Davis, Aquila, 25
 George H., 186
 Jefferson, 272, 277
 Noah, 317
 Dearborn, Henry S., 26-8, 317
 Debree, John, 142
 Dinsmoor, Samuel, 77, 91, 93, 351
 Samuel, Jr., 149
 Dix, John A., 268-9, 296-8
 Timothy, 296
 Dobbin, James C., 272, 278
 Donagan, James A., 186
 Douglas, Stephen A., 254, 281
 Downs, Charles A., 214
 Durant, Henry T., 247
 Durgin, William B., 189
 Durrell, Daniel M., 69, 317, 344

- Eames, Jeremiah, 103
Eastman, Ira A., 318
Ebenezer, 349
Nehemiah, 318
Eaton, John, 246
Edgerly, James A., 346
Edwards, Thomas McK., 318
Ela, Jacob H., 318, 347
Ellis, Caleb, 14, 318
Esterbrook, Experience, 317
Everett, Edward, 283

Fairchild, Edward T., 231
Farmer, John, 37, 134
Moses G., 203
Farnsworth, B. F., 224
Farr, Evarts W., 318
Farrington, James, 318, 347
Felker, Samuel D., 347
Fessenden, Samuel, 298-9
Thomas, 299
William, 298
William P., 138, 298-300
Fish, Jonathan, 319
Fisher, John, 319
Fillmore, Millard, 253-4, 264
Flanders, Alvan, 319
Benjamin F., 319
Fletcher, Ebenezer, 104
Floyd, Charles M., 341
Folsom, Channing, 214
Nathaniel, 319
Fogg, George, 155
George G., 300
Foster, Stephen S., 135, 137
John G., 343
Forney, John W., 273
Fowler, Ruth, 299
Freeman, Edmund, 25
Russell, 7
French, Augustus C., 240
Ezra B., 320
John B., 320
John S., 241
Fremont, John C., 155, 160
French, Augustus C., 240
Ezra B., 320
John B., 320
John S., 241
Frost, Rufus S., 320
Fuller, Luther, 103
Fullonton, John, 224

Gallagher, Thomas, 320
Gallinger, Jacob H., 301
Garfield, Samuel, 131
Garrison, William L., 129, 135
Gibbs, David, 103-4
William D., 231
Gilman, Charles J., 320
John T., 5, 11, 14, 33
Nicholas, 6
Goodenow, Robert, 321
Rufus K., 321
Goodwin, Ichabod, 342
Goodrich, Chauncey A., 46
Gordon, William, 321
Gore, Christopher, 55
Gould, John, 197
Gove, Jesse A., 125
Gowing, Fred, 214
Goodwin, Ichabod, 151, 154, 156, 173
Grant, Ulysses S., 280, 295
Graves, Samuel, 248
Greene, Nathaniel, 299
Ruth, 298
Green, Peter, 67
Greeley, Horace, 155, 301
John, 301
Joseph, 183
Grimes, James W., 301
Guthrie, James, 272, 277
Hackett, William H. Y., 155, 343
Haddock, Charles B., 213
Hadley, Amos, 214
Hale, Horace M., 245
John P., 110, 138-43, 155, 160, 256,
260, 266, 344, 347
William, 69, 70, 79, 321
Salma, 321, 351
Obed, 322

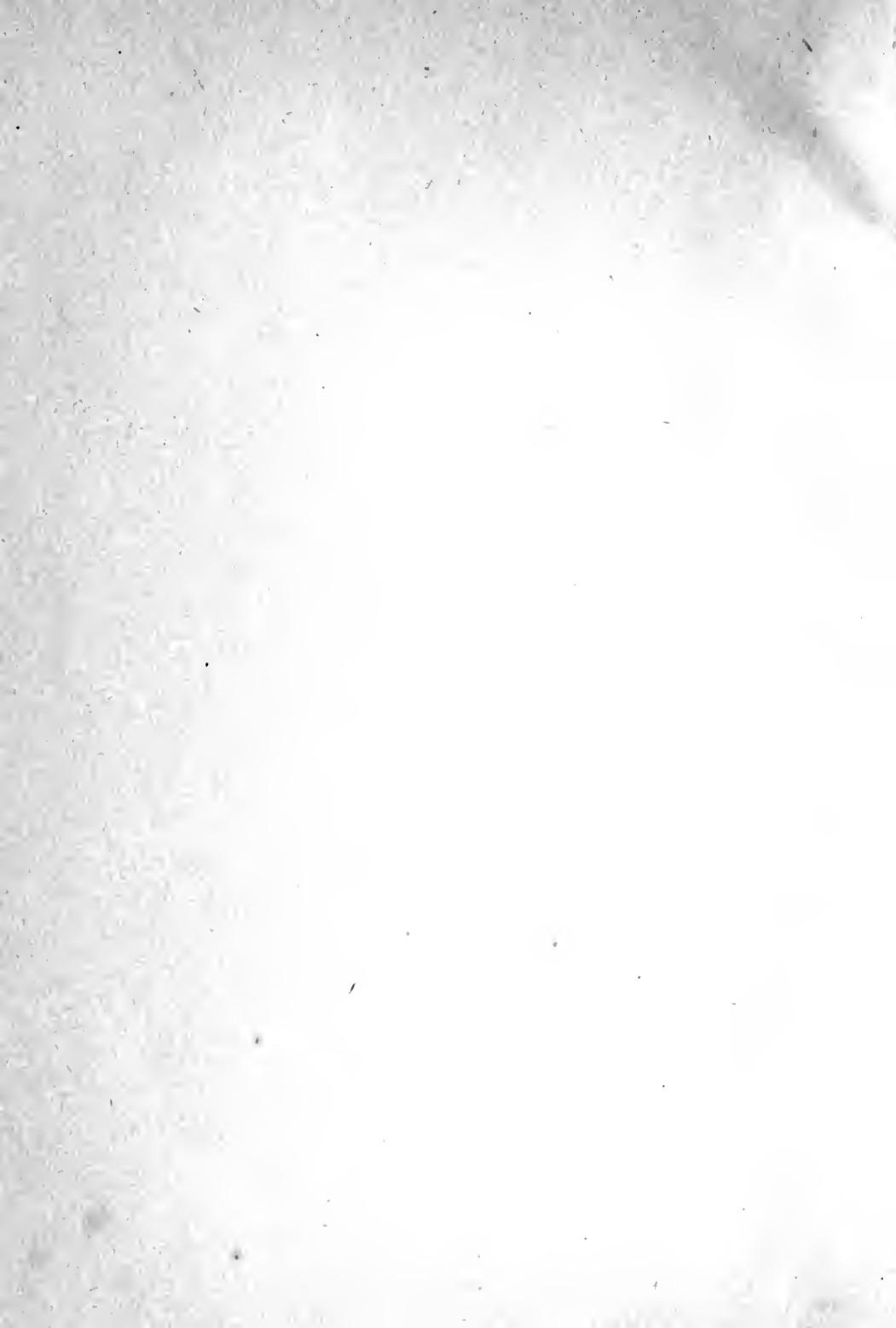
INDEX

- Samuel W., 351
 Haile, William, 151, 160, 173
 Hall, Daniel, 143, 344
 Joshua G., 321
 Samuel R., 219
 Hammond, Otis G., 110
 Hammons, Joseph, 322
 Hamlin, Hannibal, 138, 142
 Cyrus, 217
 Hanson, B. F., 346
 Hardy, Anthony C., 214
 Harper, Charles A., 90
 John A., 322
 Joseph M., 90, 322
 Harvey, Jonathan, 322
 Matthew, 89, 90
 William, 89
 Haven, Nathaniel A., 322
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 138, 256
 Hayes, John L., 139
 Haynes, John, 104, 107
 Martin A., 322
 Harrison, William H., 113
 Hazelton, George C., 323
 Gerry W., 323
 Heath, James, 104
 Hedding, Bishop, 135
 Henry, William, 323
 Hibbard, Harry, 323
 Hill, Abraham, 95
 Isaac, 18, 77, 95-9, 160, 256, 260, 266
 Hobbs, James, 345
 Hollis, Henry F., 302
 Holmes, John, 46
 Hopkins, Ernest M., 236
 Hopkinson, Joseph, 46
 Houston, Samuel, 255
 Howe, John W., 323
 Hubbard, Henry, 117-8, 156
 Hunt, Samuel, 323
 John M., 343
 Mary A., 343
 Jackson, Andrew, 92, 256
 Charles T., 115, 122
 John H., 125
 Jefferson, Thomas, 4, 7, 9, 21, 129
 Jenness, Benning W., 302
 Johnson, Andrew, 280, 299
 James H., 324
 Jones, Frank, 324
 Judd, Nathan, 104, 106
 Kendrick, Henry L., 125
 Kent, William A., 79
 George, 134
 Kimball, Daniel, 222
 Jonathan, 104
 Kittredge, George W., 324
 Knapp, William D., 346
 Knowlton, Ebenezer, 324
 Koszter, Martin, 275
 Ladd, James, 104
 Rhoda C., 349
 Lafayette, Marquis de, 78
 Lamb, Fred W., 75
 Lane, Joseph, 255
 Langdon, John, 6, 7, 9, 11, 69
 Legge, Lady Dorothy, 235
 Livermore, Arthur, 14
 Samuel, 226
 Lodge, Henry C., 45, 57
 Longfellow, Henry W., 138, 256, 311
 Lord, Nathan, 135, 232
 Oliver H., 346
 Lothrop, Daniel, 347
 Low, Joseph, 110
 Lowe, Thaddeus S. C., 202
 Lyon, John E., 169
 Mary, 228
 McClelland, Robert, 272
 McFarland, Asa, 154-5
 McKinney, Luther, 324
 McNeil, John, 32
 Mahurin, Ephraim H., 25
 Marcy, Daniel, 324
 William C., 254, 272-4
 Marshall, John P., 245
 Marston, Gilman, 151, 303
 Martin, Noah, 152, 344

- Mason, Jeremiah, 14-18, 44, 45, 56, 67, 68, 72, 77, 118
John Y., 283
- Maynard, Henry L., 324
- Miller, James, 25-31, 149
- Miner, Alonzo A., 239
- Mitchell, David, 106-7
- Metcalf, Ralph, 110, 156
- Molony, Richard S., 325
- Montgomery, John, 25
- Monroe, James, 45, 68-9
- Mooney, James, 40
- Moore, Jacob B., 77
- Morril, David L., 22, 78
- Morrison, George W., 325, 341
Henry C., 214, 218
Nathaniel, 119
- Moulton, Mace, 325
- Murkland, Charles S., 231
- Nash, Stephen G., 350
- Neal, Robert, 24
- Newell, Israel, 222
- Nesmith, George W., 168, 350
- Nichols, Ernest F., 235
- Norcross, Amasa, 325
- Norris, Moses, 303
- Noyes, Joseph, 219, 349
Parker, 350
- Nute, Alonzo, 325
- Olcott, Mills, 37
Peter, 37
- Orr, Benjamin, 326
- Osborne, John, 198
Samuel, 104
- Page, Charles T., 189
George F., 189
John, 25, 113-4
Calvin, 343
- Park, Stuart J., 68
- Parker, Edmund, 256
Edward E., 343
Joel, 351
Luther, 106-7, 110
- Nahum, 7, 296, 304
- Parrot, John F., 205
Robert P., 205
- Parkhurst, Lewis, 235
Wilder L., 235
- Paul, Moses, 344
- Parsons, Frank N., 350
- Patterson, James W., 214, 304
George W., 326
William, 326
- Peabody, Stephen, 93
Kendall O., 349
- Pearson, Joseph, 7
- Peaslee, Charles H., 326
- Perkins, Jared, 155, 326
Bishop, 326
Nathaniel, 104-5, 107
- Perley, Judge Ira, 154
- Perry, John J., 327
Matthew G., 282
William, 91
- Petree, Charles H., 231
- Pierce, Benjamin, 7, 26, 79, 85-8, 255
Franklin, 33, 86, 125, 138-9, 155,
254, 285
Joseph, 327
- Pillsbury, Charles T., 189
George A., 198
John S., 199
- Pilsbury, Parker, 135
- Pike, Austin F., 304, 350
James, 327
Robert E., 344
Rev. James, 345
- Pinkerton, John, 227
James, 227
- Phillips, Wendell, 135
- Plaisted, Harris M., 327
- Plumer, William, 5, 11, 14, 46, 56,
65, 67, 77, 232
William, Jr., 151, 155, 327
- Polk, James K., 149, 256, 280
- Porter, Henry K., 327
- Potter, Chandler E., 125
- Powers, Samuel L., 328
- Pritchard, Benjamin, 182
- Putnam, Rev. Mr., 69

- Quinby, Gov. Henry B., 188, 349
 Quincy, Josiah, 169
 Quint, Wilder D., 48
- Ramsdell, George A., 343
 Rankin, Jeremiah E., 244
 Ray, Ossian, 328
 Reding, John K., 328
 Reed, Edward C., 328
 Thomas B., 217
 Richards, Cyrus S., 222
 Richardson, William M., 328
 Ripley, Gen. E. W., 32, 328
 Robertson, Peter, 67
 Robinson, William, 228
 Rogers, Nathaniel P., 136
 Rollins, Edward A., 234
 Daniel G., 346
 Edward H., 304
 Ichabod, 345
 Rolfe, Henry P., 140
 Roper, Sylvester H., 206
 Rowe, Theodore F., 125
 Rowell, Jonathan H., 329
- Sabine, Lorenzo, 329
 Sanborn, Edward S., 228
 Edwin D., 151
 Sargent, E. C., 187
 Sawyer, Alfred I., 184, 344
 Charles H., 344
 Samuel L., 329
 Thomas E., 151, 154, 344
 Scott, Winfield, 155, 264, 266
 Shackford, Samuel, 24
 Shattuck, George C., 225
 Shaw, Tristram, 329
 Sheafe, James, 65, 67, 305
 Shirley, John M., 49
 Sherwin, Thomas, 240
 Simonds, John W., 214
 Simmons, George A., 329
 Showerman, Grant, 110
 Sise, Edward, 69
 Small, Bradbury S., 329
- Smith, Asa D., 233
 Francis O. J., 330
 George L., 330
 Jedediah, 330
 Jeremiah, 9-11, 14, 44, 56
 Somes, Daniel E., 330
 Soule, Pierre, 283
 Spaulding, Rolland H., 347
 Oliver C., 330
 Sprague, Eben C., 248
 Stanard, Edwin O., 331
 Stanton, Benjamin, 224
 Stark, Caleb, 79
 George, 343
 Steele, John H., 119
 Stearns, Onslow, 168
 Stetson, Charles, 331
 Stevens, Aaron F., 331, 343
 Bradford N., 331
 David, 182
 Ephraim, 182
 Robert, 182
 Sydney F., 346
 Stone, James A. B., 247
 Storer, Clement, 7, 29
 Storrs, Rev. George, 134, 303
 Stowe, Calvin E., 217, 256
 Stuart, Moses, 135
 Sullivan, George, 44, 56, 331
 James, 332
 John, 305
 Timothy P., 187-8
 Sulloway, Cyrus A., 341
 Sumner, Charles, 152, 156
 Swenson, John, 188
- Tabor, Jeremiah, 105
 Tappan, Mason W., 332, 350
 Taylor, President, 264
 Thom, George, 125
 Thompson, Benjamin, 229
 George, 133
 Thomas W., 69, 305, 350
 Thayer, Sylvanus, 233
 Tiffany, Lyman, 182
 Tuck, Amos, 139, 154-5, 235, 332

- Edward, 235
Tucker, William J., 234
Turner, Charles H., 332
Tyler, Benjamin M., 219
 Bennet, 232
 David, 104
 Jesse, 104
 President John, 280
 Moses, 183
- Upham, George B., 333
 Nathaniel, 333
 Timothy, 33, 89
 Thomas C., 347
- Van Buren, Martin, 93, 113
- Wakefield, Cyrus, 200
Wales, Nathaniel, 103-4
Walker, Charles C. B., 333
 Isaac, 216
 William A., 333
Wallace, Rodney, 333
Wallingford, Thomas, 395
Wadleigh, Bainbridge, 305
Weare, Meshech, 153
Webster, Daniel, 10, 11, 17, 25, 41,
 43-8, 53-62, 232, 235, 264, 298
 Ebenezer, 53, 349
 Ezekiel, 54
Weeks, John W., 33, 306
 John W., 333
 Joseph, 333
Wells, John S., 156, 160, 305
 Nathaniel, 346
 Christopher H., 346
Wentworth, John, 334, 345
 John, Jr., 333
- Tappan, 234, 334
West, Benjamin, 37
Wheclock, John, 41, 44
Whitcher, William F., 253
Whittier, John G., 61, 133, 139
 Mary, 294
Whipple, Dr. Thomas, 71
 Thomas J., 125
 William, 343
Whitehouse, Elias, 334
 John O., 334
Wilcox, Leonard, 307
Wilder, C. T., 235
Willard, Phineas, 106-7
Williams, Jared W., 123, 147
 J. B., 189
 John, 344
Willis, William, 299
Wilmot, David, 273
Wilson, Elizabeth, 303
 George F., 234
 Henry, 306-7
 James, 334, 113-4, 138, 154, 351
 John, 334
 William, 334
Wirt, William, 46
Witham, Abigail, 306
Wingate, Paine, 308
Wood, Rev. Samuel, 54, 89
 Aaron, 204
 Walter A., 204
Woodbury, Levi, 74, 76-8
 Peter, 76
Woodward, Bezaleel, 43
Worcester, Samuel T., 335
Wright, Carroll D., 243
- Young, Rev. Dan, 71
 Timothy R., 335





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